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THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

AN ASSESSMENT OF SELECTED HISTORICAL  
DOCUMENTS RELATING TO THE ALBERTA  
SOCIAL STUDIES CURRICULUM IN  
GRADES IV TO VIII

by

GEOFFREY ALLEN SMITH

A Thesis

Submitted To

the Faculty of Graduate Studies

In Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements for the Degree

Master of Education

Department of Elementary Education

Edmonton, Alberta

August 1965





UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA  
FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES

The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies for acceptance, a thesis entitled "An Assessment of Selected Historical Documents Relating to the Alberta Social Studies Curriculum in Grades IV to VIII," submitted by Geoffrey Allen Smith, B. Ed., in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Education.





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## ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study was to select and analyse certain authentic historical documents, which would be suitable resource materials for a study of local Alberta history by students in the intermediate grades, and which would provide information on universal human needs and evidence for the significant conclusions of historians interested in the same topic.

The historical topic selected for study was the building of the Canadian Pacific Railway across Alberta and its consequences on the growth of Calgary up to 1890. Three distinct phases, the pre-construction era, the construction era, and the post-construction era, were identified within the topic, and historical documents were collected for each phase.

In assessing the documentary evidence available, four criteria were applied. Two criteria, developed to validate the investigator's initial selection of documents were:

1. Relevance to the topics within the sequence of the Alberta social studies curriculum in Grades IV to VIII.
2. Suitability for students in the intermediate grades.

The Alberta social studies curriculum guides for the elementary and junior high schools were used in validating relevance to the curriculum sequence, while a panel of experienced graduate teachers assessed the suitability of documents. Only those sixteen documents which satisfied both of these criteria were subsequently analysed in terms of the following evaluative criteria:





3. Relevance to the scope of the Alberta social studies curriculum.
4. Historical significance.

The ten aspects of scope itemized in the elementary school social studies curriculum guide were the referents employed to assess the extent that the selected documents provided evidence of the universal human needs, frequently considered the domain of the social sciences. An assessment of the historical significance of the selected documents was obtained by comparing the documentary evidence with the significant conclusions of historians, as stated in their writings. A document's historical significance was confirmed by two qualified judges.

The findings indicated that all the documents could be adapted to at least three of the topics within the curriculum sequence, and that for Calgary students some documents had particular relevance to the two further topics on the local community.

The selected documents provided evidence for all aspects of the scope of the curriculum with particular documents contributing more evidence than others. References to problems associated with transporting and communicating, governing and protecting, and providing food were most evident. However, the amount of evidence provided by the selected documents for the significant conclusions of historians varied, with some documents providing considerable evidence, most providing partial evidence, and a few providing implicit evidence only. A concomitant finding was that some documents provide considerable evidence for less widely acknowledged significant historical





conclusions.

The arrangement of the documents in sets appears to be justified by the finding that single documents usually provide insufficient evidence for the significant conclusions of historians. The uncertainty of the panel members about the suitability of documents suggests that some clarification of the elements of curriculum sequence is needed in the areas of curriculum development and methodology. Nevertheless, the quantity and variety of historical documents found to be now available in archives seems to offer teachers many opportunities to develop depth studies involving sets of selected documents.



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## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

#### THE PROBLEM

The major problem that this thesis examined was that of the selection and analysis of authentic historical documents which were pertinent to a study of local Alberta history at the upper elementary and junior high school levels. The topic selected for study was the building of the Canadian Pacific Railway across Alberta and its consequences on the growth of Calgary up to 1890. The following questions were examined.

1. Can authentic historical documents be provided which relate to the topics within the sequence of the Alberta social studies curriculum for Grades IV to VIII?
2. Can authentic historical documents be provided which are considered by a panel of experienced teachers to be suitable social studies resource materials for students in Grades IV to VIII?
3. Do historical documents, selected in accordance with the criteria of questions 1 and 2 above, provide content in the areas of universal human needs itemized in the statement of scope in the Alberta social studies curriculum guides for Grades IV to VIII?
4. Do historical documents, selected in accordance with the criteria of questions 1 and 2 above, provide evidence for the conclusions that historians have reached about the selected topic?

Following the collection of a number of historical documents related to the selected topic, information was obtained to answer the preceding



questions by assessing each document in terms of the criteria inherent in each question.

#### IMPORTANCE OF THE STUDY

"Teaching about the past is one of the common elements in the education of all societies."<sup>1</sup> The universality of the discipline implies that history is believed to possess certain merits that are widely acknowledged. The British Ministry of Education Pamphlet No. 23, Teaching History, identifies three motives for the teaching of history:

1. Instruction in the lives of people of the past helps the student "to discriminate between disinterested and selfish purposes, or between heroism and cowardice."<sup>2</sup>
2. Introduction to the heritage of the past helps the student to understand the environment in which he or she has to live and act.
3. Training in the skills of the historian helps the student to develop a critical viewpoint and to acquire an "imaginative experience" in a particular area of study.<sup>3</sup>

In Alberta history continues to play an important, if not the dominant, role in the present social studies program. It is considered sufficiently important that aspects of the subject are included in the

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<sup>1</sup>Ministry of Education Pamphlet No. 23, Teaching History (London: H.M.S.O., 1952), p. 7.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 13.      <sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 18.





curriculum for each grade from I through XII.

Recent writings by Jerome S. Bruner<sup>4</sup> and Joseph J. Schwab<sup>5</sup> suggest that through the identification of the fundamental principles of a discipline, and of the strategies of inquiry used by scholars at the frontier of their discipline, it is possible to stimulate greater learning among students at all levels of education. The influence of these ideas has already been felt in physics, chemistry, biology and mathematics as recent change in the curricula of these subjects testifies. Implicit in this approach to curriculum development is the logical structuring of materials in such a way that the child discovers the necessary concepts for himself.

This differs little from the approach of the professional historian to his materials as described by Wesley, who has divided the work of the historian into three phases: (1) discovery from source materials of the traces of events in the past that he seeks to understand; (2) critical analysis of the sources--externally to establish their authenticity and internally to assess their degree of veracity; and (3) synthesis of the various versions by the historian into his own account of the events.<sup>6</sup>

Application of the historian's procedures in the classroom is sometimes called the source method. Advocates of the method feel that

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<sup>4</sup>Jerome S. Bruner, The Process of Education (New York: Vintage, 1963).

<sup>5</sup>Joseph J. Schwab, "The Concept of the Structure of a Discipline," Educational Record, No. 43, July 1962, pp. 197-205.

<sup>6</sup>E.B. Wesley, Teaching in the Social Studies (Boston: Heath, 1942), pp. 610-3.



if the student is presented with carefully selected primary sources and is guided in his thinking, he is capable of making his own discoveries in history. The important point, Sutherland argues is "that they must be his discoveries, based on his own thinking and his own reading."<sup>7</sup> The selection and analysis of certain documents needed for such a method comprises the objective of this thesis.

For the college and high school student, the Anvil series of document collections<sup>8</sup> provides considerable supplementary source material for the study of history. At the junior high and elementary levels, some kits of documents<sup>9</sup> have been produced for use in schools, but the process has been fragmentary, emphasising popular segments of history, such as the Magna Carta and the Battle of Trafalgar. Another series<sup>10</sup> has provided collections of source materials on both British and Canadian history for the intermediate grades student. George Brown, the University of Toronto historian, produced a book of readings in Canadian history for schools,<sup>11</sup> but it terminates at the end of the

---

<sup>7</sup>N. Sutherland, The Document in the Teaching of History (Vancouver: British Columbia Teachers' Federation, 1960), p. 1.

<sup>8</sup>The Anvil Series (Princeton: Van Nostrand) lists 60 titles, of which two, D.C. Masters, A Short History of Canada (No.36) and J.J. Talman, Basic Documents in Canadian History include materials on Alberta. (June 1965) .

<sup>9</sup>Jonathan Cape Limited, London, England, has published nine collections of contemporary documents in its Jackdaw series. (June 1965).

<sup>10</sup>H. M. Smith, Footprints in Time: A Source Book in Canadian History (Toronto: House of Grant, 1962); and E.A. Richardson and J.D. Thexton, Footprints in Time: A Source Book in British History (Toronto: House of Grant, 1963).

<sup>11</sup>George Brown, Readings in Canadian History (Toronto: Dent, 1940).



eighteenth century and has little relevance to local Alberta history. Reid, McNaught and Crowe have also produced a source book on Canadian history<sup>12</sup> which provides ample reference material. In British Columbia the collection of historical documents for use in schools has been encouraged for some time, and at least one 'archive teaching unit', a kit of loose documents, on the Cariboo Wagon Road has been made available to schools.<sup>13</sup> It would seem, however, that no research in this area has been conducted in Alberta. This thesis, therefore, is exploratory. It is hoped that the outcome will partially fill the gap in the sphere of social studies in this province.

#### DESIGN OF THE STUDY

Elaboration of the procedures introduced in this statement of the design of the study is given in Chapter IV.

All the documents used in this study were selected by the investigator on the simple criterion of containing material relevant to the historical topics selected, and in the light of his preliminary assessment, based on his own experience as a social studies teacher, of their pedagogic utility.

Initially the documents collected in this study were grouped in sets inasmuch as they related to the significant historical

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<sup>12</sup>J.H. Stewart Reid, K. McNaught, H.S. Crowe, A Source Book of Canadian History (Toronto: Longmans, 1959).

<sup>13</sup>G. R. Batho, "Making History Live," B.C. Teacher, Volume 44, No. 2, November 1964, pp. 64-67.





considerations under investigation. Three sets were used to illustrate the following considerations.

- A. The state of the Calgary area in the decade prior to the arrival of the railway.
- B. The construction and early operation of the Canadian Pacific Railway in Alberta.
- C. The growth of Calgary in the years immediately following the arrival of the railway.

For the purposes of this study, four criteria were established to assist in the validation of the initial selection, and in the analysis of the documents. Two criteria were established to select documents from the initial collection, and two criteria were established for the analysis of the documents finally selected. In order of application, these criteria were:

1. Relevance to the sequence of the curriculum.
2. Suitability for students in the intermediate grades.
3. Relevance to the scope of the curriculum.
4. Historical significance.

All the documents used in this study were relevant to at least one of the topics on local history within the sequence prescribed or suggested by the current Alberta social studies curriculum guides.<sup>14</sup> Reference by

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<sup>14</sup>Province of Alberta, Elementary Curriculum Guide for Social Studies-Enterprise (Interim) (Edmonton: Department of Education, 1964) and Province of Alberta, Junior High School Curriculum Guide for Social Studies-Language (Edmonton: Department of Education, 1963).





the investigator to the appropriate curriculum guides served as confirmation of the relevance of particular documents to the topics within the sequence of the curriculum. Documents which were found to be not applicable to the sequence of the Alberta social studies curriculum were rejected.

To apply the suitability criterion, each document was examined separately by a panel of five experienced teachers, and was considered acceptable to this study when at least four of the five teachers stated that they did not find the document unsuitable as resource materials for social studies classes that they might conduct in the intermediate grades. Documents which were not considered suitable by at least four panel members were rejected.

Documents selected in accordance with criteria 1 and 2, were then analysed in terms of criteria 3 and 4. As social studies involves other social sciences as well as history, the documents were examined to ascertain what information relative to social sciences, such as economics, sociology, and anthropology, was embodied in the documents. The areas of interest that the related social sciences cover were identified, for the purposes of this study, as the ten aspects of the scope of the curriculum itemized in the Alberta social studies curriculum guides for the intermediate grades, and listed in this study in Chapter IV. To assess the extent to which the content of the selected documents provided information on the ten aspects of the scope of the curriculum, each document was examined by the investigator, and particular references to aspects of the scope of the Curriculum were identified and recorded in the assessment



of each document.

To assess the historical significance of the selected documents, the investigator consulted the works of historians and other writers who had studied the same area and period. When it was found that the evidence provided by a particular document either stated explicitly or represented implicitly the conclusions that historians and other writers had reached about the same events, the document was considered significant historically. The tentative conclusions arrived at by the investigator from his examination of the documents were summarized and submitted, together with the document, to two persons qualified in Western Canadian history for their approval. Modifications and changes suggested by the two qualified judges were incorporated into the assessment of each document's historical significance.

#### ASSUMPTIONS AND LIMITATIONS

For the purpose of this study several important assumptions were made. The investigator assumed

1. That the selected topic, the building of the Canadian Pacific Railway in Alberta and its consequences on the growth of Calgary, was a significant area of historical study for children in the intermediate grades in Alberta schools.
2. That graduate teachers with a minimum of three years recent experience teaching social studies in the intermediate grades were qualified judges of what materials are suitable for children in these grades.
3. That all documents reproduced from sources, such as the Public





Archives of Canada and the Glenbow Foundation Archives, could be accepted as authentic, credible and reliable.

4. That teaching procedures may be devised that permit individual students in Grades IV to VIII to undertake the selection, analysis and synthesis of historical data, and to develop the concepts and tentative hypotheses that correspond closely to the conclusions of historians.
5. That the conclusions that historians have reached with respect to a selected topic should form the structural framework for the selection of content, and the child's learning of these conclusions should be a part of the objectives for teaching that topic.

The effectiveness of the study was limited by the methods used in collecting data and by the procedures for evaluating the data.

1. No tests or observations were conducted to evaluate the effectiveness of the selected documents in the classroom.
2. No attempt was made to evaluate the level of reading difficulty of any document by use of a readability formula.
3. No attempt was made to compare the approach to history teaching outlined in this study with any other approach; nor has any comparison been made between the different procedures for handling source materials.
4. No assessment was made of the extent to which the teaching experience of the five panel members had included a wide range of socio-economic class, variations in the ability levels of students, or other relevant variables.





5. This study was restricted to the history of the construction and the operation of the Canadian Pacific Railway as it affected Alberta, and the Calgary area in particular, up to 1890.
6. This study does not contain any documents relating to events after 1890.
7. This study does not provide information on all aspects of the building of the Canadian Pacific Railway across Alberta and the subsequent growth of Calgary. The availability of documentation and the criteria established for the selection of documents limited the coverage of the topic.
8. This study was selective, since only one or two documents illustrating particular historical events or ideas were to be used. The assessments of such documents were based on the opinion of qualified persons and authoritative sources, and no claims are made about the objectivity of these assessments.

#### DEFINITION OF TERMS

Calgary area. The territory encompassed by this term has a radius of roughly seventy miles from the middle of the present city of Calgary, and relied on Calgary as the main service and commercial centre.

Company, or C.P.R. The term "the Company" and the abbreviation, C.P.R., are used in this study to denote the Canadian Pacific Railway Company.

Police. The term "the police" is used in this study to denote the North West Mounted Police.

Historical document. A historical document is a record, produced



literally or graphically, of an event or idea of the past by a person who was closely associated with the event or idea in time and space. For the purpose of this study where two or more related accounts, reports, advertisements or other printed sources are taken together, they will be considered as one document and will be referred to in their respective assessment as "the document."

Historian's method. The historian's method is the procedure of discovering, selecting, analysing and synthesizing the source materials of events in the past.

Historical significance. A document is considered historically significant in this study if it provides evidence of, or is representative of, a theme or conclusion that an academic historian has stated to be important for the proper understanding of the topic under investigation.

Historical soundness. A document is considered historically sound in this study when its source is authentic, its account is credible, and its subject has been proven reliable.

Intermediate grades. For the purposes of this study, Grades IV to VIII are considered the intermediate grades.

Source method. The source method is that procedure used in education whereby the student is supplied with one or more primary source(s) and is required to examine the source(s) in accordance with previous instructions.

Social Studies. For the purposes of this thesis, the term "social studies" relates to any study whose content is drawn from the social



sciences and the related subjects, as specified on page 58 of the Elementary Curriculum Guide for Social Studies-Enterprise (1964) for the Province of Alberta.

#### PREVIEW OF THE THESIS

This chapter has been confined to a discussion of the statement of the problem, its importance, the design employed, the assumptions and limitations of the study, and a definition of the terms. The study set out to select, in accordance with pre-determined criteria, a number of authentic historical documents, which included information on the basic areas of human endeavour as listed in the social studies curriculum guide of the Province of Alberta and which provided evidence for the conclusions that historians or other writers have reached about the same events or ideas.

Chapter II examines the related literature on the use of historical documents in schools. Consideration is given to the rationale of the source method, its acceptance in the United States, England and Canada, the uses of documents, reports by teachers on their experience with this method, and research involving the use of documents.

Chapter III provides historical background for the documents used in the study. The early development of the Canadian Pacific Railway is described. The problems of constructing the railway are investigated and a narrative account of the history of the Calgary area up to 1890 is given. In the summary of the chapter the significant





conclusions of historians who have examined the same topic are recorded.

Chapter IV describes in greater detail the design of the study and the procedures used in selecting and analysing the materials used.

Chapters V, VI and VII contain the selected documents grouped in Sets A, B and C, respectively. All the documents have been assessed in terms of the established criteria. To avoid needless repetition, the reporting of each document's relevance to the curriculum sequence and its suitability for intermediate grade students is given for the set as a whole, as only those documents which satisfied these criteria were retained in the collection. Assessments of the other criteria, relevance to the scope of the curriculum, and historical significance, are provided for each document separately. Each document in these chapters is introduced by a preamble identifying the document and placing it in its historical context.

The final chapter reports the conclusions that the study will support. The educational implications of the procedures discussed are outlined, and recommendations have been presented.





## CHAPTER II

### REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE ON THE USE OF HISTORICAL DOCUMENTS IN TEACHING HISTORY

This review of the literature is concerned with four aspects of the use of historical documents in teaching history, or the source method as the procedure is frequently called. First the rationale for the source method is examined. The development of the method is considered next and a historical perspective of the use of sources in both the United States and England is developed, culminating in an analysis of recent developments and a summary of the reported pedagogic functions of documents. The third aspect of the review is concerned with the reports of teachers who have used the source method, while the final section examines those few research projects which have involved historical documents.

It should be pointed out that most of the articles and books have been written by teachers and educators interested in promoting this approach to history teaching. Very little objective and scientifically collected data is available on the subject.

#### RATIONALE FOR THE SOURCE METHOD

History has been defined as knowledge derived from a critical analysis of historical documents.<sup>1</sup> Such a definition is only one of many

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<sup>1</sup>Louis Gottschalk, "The Historian and the Historical Document," The Use of the Personal Document in History. Anthropology and Sociology (New York: Social Sciences Research Council, Bulletin No. 53, 1945), p. 6.



that have been applied to the discipline, but from a pedagogic viewpoint it is sufficient to cover what Nevins calls the basic elements of history-- "a body of more or less trustworthy materials and a critical method applied to them."<sup>2</sup> The method applied is frequently referred to as the historian's method. E.B. Wesley has divided the work of the historian into three phases. In the first phase the historian discovers from source materials the traces of events he seeks to understand. Next he undertakes a critical analysis of the sources--externally to establish their genuineness and internally to assess their degree of veracity. Finally a synthesis of the various versions is prepared by the historian into his own account of the events.<sup>3</sup>

Although Gottschalk would define the first two phases as the historical method, and the final phase as historiography,<sup>4</sup> it is the operation as a whole that has attracted the attention of educators as a pedagogic procedure suitable for the classroom. The use of historical documents in school, sometimes referred to as the source method, is an approach to history teaching that has stimulated much interest in recent years.

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<sup>2</sup>Allan Nevins, The Gateway to History (revised edition) (Garden City: Anchor Books, 1962), p. 66.

<sup>3</sup>E.B. Wesley, Teaching the Social Studies (Boston: Heath, 1942), pp. 610-613.

<sup>4</sup>Gottschalk, op. cit., p. 10.





A number of writers in British Columbia<sup>5</sup> have been particularly active in promoting this approach to the teaching of history in Canada. Much of the leadership in this area has been provided by Sutherland, who explains his rationale in two publications.<sup>6</sup>

Sutherland takes the position that "a serious effort has to be made to harmonize . . . both the views of the academic specialist on the nature of his subject and the views of the pedagogue on how children learn."<sup>7</sup> History, he notes, is not an assured body of knowledge with fixed and immutable patterns of interpretation. "History," says Sutherland, "is a special form of reasoning--a unique combination of art and science."<sup>8</sup> The nature of history is found in the "historical remains which provide us with evidence that the past did exist,"<sup>9</sup> and the treatment of this evidence cannot be separated or be considered separately from the historian who selects it. Therefore the historian, he claims is not objective and there is "little likelihood of unanimity of view amongst historians."<sup>10</sup> Furthermore, he continues, the particulars of the past that interest man in one age are not necessarily those that interest him in another. The slow permeation of ideas from

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<sup>5</sup>G. Batho, F.C. Hardwick, John R. Meredith and Neil Sutherland. Refer to Bibliography.

<sup>6</sup>Neil Sutherland, The Document in the Teaching of History (Vancouver: British Columbia Teachers' Federation, 1960); and \_\_\_\_\_, "Structure in the History Curriculum," Social Education, Vol. XXVI, No. 3, March 1962, pp. 133-136, 140.

<sup>7</sup>Sutherland (1962), op. cit., p. 134. <sup>8</sup>Ibid.

<sup>9</sup>Ibid. <sup>10</sup>Ibid., p. 135.





the scholar-historian to the classroom, he suggests, makes some history courses and many history textbooks irrelevant to present society and its problems. To reduce the gap between the nature of history as a discipline and the efficient teaching of history in schools, Sutherland turns to Bruner's concept of structure for psychological support. In the Process of Education Bruner writes,

Grasping the structure of a subject is understanding it in a way that permits many other things to be related to it meaningfully. To learn structure, in short, is to learn how things are related.<sup>11</sup>

The understanding of this relationship involves, Bruner continues,

. . . not only the grasping of general principles, but also the development of an attitude toward learning and inquiry, toward guessing and hunches, [and] toward the possibility of solving problems on one's own.<sup>12</sup>

The duality of structure as both an essential framework of knowledge and a strategy of inquiry, Bruner claims, makes the fundamentals of a subject more comprehensible, improves the retention of important information, eases the transfer of training, and, by constant re-examination of the fundamental character of the material used, reduces the gap between 'advanced knowledge' and 'elementary knowledge'.<sup>13</sup> However, Bruner's notion of structure as the unifying element in the curriculum cannot be easily applied to history.

Historians, says Sutherland, do not usually produce a highly

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<sup>11</sup>Jerome Bruner, The Process of Education (New York: Vintage Books, 1963), p. 7.

<sup>12</sup>Ibid., p. 20.      <sup>13</sup>Ibid., pp. 23-26.



regulated perspective on the past,<sup>14</sup> nor do they develop what Arthur Wright<sup>15</sup> calls 'regularity generalizations' about the nature of previous events, without first admitting that there are exceptions to, and limitations on such generalizations.

In Sutherland's view, the unifying element, or the structure, which provides a common ground for the development of history curricula, courses and units is in the manner that history is presented. To quote Sutherland again,

Structure in history is best revealed through the historian's method. Through his attempt to solve simple historical problems, the child should learn the skills of the historian, and through using these skills gain an insight into its structure. The historian arrives at his conclusions, derives his generalizations and comprehends historical structure from a study of primary sources.<sup>16</sup>

It becomes essential, therefore, that the primary sources presented to the student be carefully selected and that the student be guided by his teacher in making his discoveries, but "the discoveries must be his discoveries, based on his own reading and his own thinking."<sup>17</sup> This argument is, perhaps, best summarized by Batho, an English educator

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<sup>14</sup>Sutherland (1962), op. cit., p. 135.

<sup>15</sup>Arthur Wright, "On the Uses of Generalizations in the Study of Chinese History," Generalizations in the Writing of History, Louis Gottschalk, editor (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1963), p. 36.

<sup>16</sup>Sutherland (1962), op. cit., p. 136.

<sup>17</sup>Sutherland (1960), op. cit., p. 1.



who worked in British Columbia for a year. He writes,

One way of teaching history which has been found to have a wide measure of success in the hands of many teachers, and which conforms to the thinking of many professional historians, educational psychologists and classroom practitioners is the source method by which children are introduced to the raw materials of the subject.<sup>18</sup>

Hardwick's position is not much different from Sutherland's.

Beginning with a discussion on the nature of history, he goes on to examine history as both an art and a science. He points out that history involves the present and the living and that "an understanding of the present, based on this personal memory [of events in one's own life], can be extended and deepened through the study of history."<sup>20</sup>

This study equips the child with important abilities, Hardwick asserts, and these abilities--thinking critically, making inferences, interpreting details, expressing ideas in one's own words and comparing the results with those of more accomplished authors--can be acquired through the study of original sources in a manner similar to that of the historian. Hardwick sees the development of skill in criticizing original documents--externally to check their authenticity, and internally, to assess the author's reliability--as an important feature of the method.<sup>21</sup> To illustrate his point he gives a number of examples.

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<sup>18</sup>G. Batho, "Making History Live," B.C. Teacher, Vol. 44, No.2 November 1964, p. 64.

<sup>19</sup>F.C. Hardwick, Teaching History and Geography (Toronto: Gage and Co., 1964).

<sup>20</sup>Ibid., pp. 5-6.

<sup>21</sup>Ibid., pp. 85-86.





Forty years earlier Henry Johnson<sup>22</sup> had written a similar exposition of the source method. Taking the view that knowledge of history is found in the traces left by the human past, Johnson argues that the study of history should involve an examination of the evidence of history, the primary sources, and subjection of this evidence to the rigors of historical criticism. Johnson attempts to justify the increased use of the historian's method in schools by noting its lasting effect, for better or for worse, on the student. He suggests that acceptance of the facts of history without discrimination by the student tends to continue in later life in other areas.<sup>23</sup> He feels that training in the historian's method should begin in Grade I with well directed questions and problems and that by the end of Grade VII the pupil should have attempted some "exercises involving the essential aspects of the historical method of study from the search for material to the organization and exposition of results."<sup>24</sup> Such exercises, Johnson points out, would require an examination of primary sources, presented largely as extracts from authentic documents, and he concludes his discussion by providing a number of examples.

#### DEVELOPMENT OF THE METHOD

The source method is not new. In the 1880's writers were

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<sup>22</sup>Henry Johnson, Teaching of History (revised edition) (New York: Macmillan Company, 1940).

<sup>23</sup>Ibid., p. 302.      <sup>24</sup>Ibid., p. 303.



developing procedures and providing source materials for the method in the United States. The English, too, were interested in this method of teaching history. This section outlines the development of the method in the United States and in England, and includes a description of recent developments involving the use of sources. The reported functions of the document are discussed as a summary to this section.

#### A Historical Perspective on the Source Method in the United States

A contemporary of Johnson, Rolla Tryon, traced the origin of the source method back to the work of Mary Sheldon Barnes in Nebraska in 1885. Tryon reports that Mary Sheldon Barnes' book Studies in General History (Student's Edition) "contemplated the adoption of the source method and purported to give sufficient material for the student's use."<sup>25</sup> Seven years later the Committee of Ten of the American Historical Association passed a resolution--Number 22--which read, "that the method of study by topics be strongly recommended, as tending to stimulate pupils, and to encourage independence of judgement."<sup>26</sup> and suggested that each pupil at high school level be assigned one topic for independent investigation based on original materials. The suggested advantages of this procedure were spelled out by Fanny Baker of

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<sup>25</sup>Rolla Tryon, The Teaching of History in Junior and Senior High Schools (Boston: Ginn and Company, 1921), p. 76.

<sup>26</sup>Report of the Committee of Ten, p. 195 (cited by Tryon, op. cit., p. 71.).



Nebraska City High School. She claimed,

1. Independent, clear and logical thinking is developed.
2. Growth of the spirit of research.
3. More original and better work in English composition is done.
4. There is increased enthusiasm and interest in the study.
5. Marked improvement is apparent in all work done by history pupils. This method sharpens and brightens the wits wonderfully.<sup>27</sup>

Tryon reports that enthusiasm for the source method was dampened in the 1900's by the lack of suitable published materials and felt that "the safe and sane attitude toward the use of sources . . . is that they are adjuncts to good textbook work."<sup>28</sup>

In 1930 Hilleman, also, examined the origin of the source method.<sup>29</sup> Differentiating between source books, which were collections of supplementary readings, and source textbooks, which were extracts from documents arranged in such a manner that they could form a program of studies in history, Hilleman lists the four major objectives that early proponents such as Mary Sheldon Barnes, Fling, and Caldwell, claimed for the source method. These are,

1. To create more interest in history.
2. To stimulate thinking and the formation of judgement.
3. To aid in the visualization of history.
4. To engender love of truth for truth's sake.<sup>30</sup>

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<sup>27</sup>Fling and Caldwell, Studies in European and American History p. 303 (cited by Tryon, op. cit., p. 79.).

<sup>28</sup>Tryon, op. cit., p. 82.

<sup>29</sup>Raymond U. Hilleman, "The Uses and Supply of Historical Sources in High School History" (unpublished Master's thesis, University of Chicago, 1930).

<sup>30</sup>Ibid., p. 9.







Contemporaneous with the impetus given the source method at the turn of the century, Hilleman noted, was the increased concern for the study of local history. However, little evidence could be found that showed that the source method was popular in schools outside the state of Nebraska. Two reasons, Hilleman feels, can be advanced for this lack of enthusiasm. First, the source materials history course lacked unity and continuity as a whole.<sup>31</sup> Second, after 1909 the emphasis seemed to move from "teaching history by the source method to the use of sources in teaching history."<sup>32</sup>

Writing in 1936, Andrews<sup>33</sup> assessed the use of historical sources in the light of the educational climate of the times. Commenting on the use of original sources in college and high school, Andrews suggested that the more general use of the method "indicates a tendency to place increasing stress upon educational process rather than upon findings."<sup>34</sup> The purpose of the method, as he perceived it, was not to transform all students into research specialists, but rather to stimulate intellectual activity and interest. The values of the source method, in his opinion, were threefold. First, Andrews states, it impressed upon the student the fact that history is based on evidence. Without evidence, there can be no history. Second, it provided a closer contact with the past so that

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<sup>31</sup> Ibid., p. 70.      <sup>32</sup> Ibid., p. 69.

<sup>33</sup> G.G. Andrews, "The Use of Historical Sources" Social Studies, Vol. XXVII, No. 7, pp. 464-9, November 1936.

<sup>34</sup> Ibid., p. 464.



bygone events could be given a sense of reality. Finally the method helped to make history interesting and alive.<sup>35</sup> Unlike many earlier proponents of the method, Andrews believed that source materials were intended to supplement, not to supplant, the regular history course, and that only a part of the course should be devoted to source exercises.

His position is shared by Ernest Horn, who writes,

It is obvious that students below college level, and perhaps even those in college, can construct very few, if any, of the important ideas of the social sciences wholly from original sources. But students can become accustomed to inquiring as to the evidence behind statements given in their texts and reference readings . . . . Certainly, no student should leave the public school without coming to realize something of the scholarly methodology by which evidence is appraised, sifted, organized and interpreted in an attempt to discover truth about social problems.<sup>36</sup>

The source method in history or the other social sciences, he adds, provides the student with the opportunity to apply the "same principles that are used in scholarly research in the field,"<sup>37</sup> and, he points out, "to understand knowledge is not the same thing as to discover it."<sup>38</sup>

The constant stress on historical method, Horn warns, allows for the dangerous possibility of becoming obsessed with methodology. "Methods of research, like methods of teaching, can readily be formalized and degenerate into a cult."<sup>39</sup> Nevertheless, Horn admits that

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<sup>35</sup> Ibid., p. 465.

<sup>36</sup> Ernest Horn, Methods of Instruction in the Social Studies. Part XV. Report of the Commission on the Social Studies, American Historical Association, (Washington, 1937), p. 27.

<sup>37</sup> Ibid., p. 24.      <sup>38</sup> Ibid.

<sup>39</sup> Ibid., p. 28.



the study of original sources should be an integral part of the reading program in social studies.

Horn is also critical of the extracts in source books that are too short to provide the necessary richness of detail that collateral readings ought to supply and that are so brief that they are only meaningful to persons with a rich historical background. Furthermore, he notes, many source book collections provide no information on the internal authenticity, reliability and credibility of the extracts used, many of which are produced by obscure writers. To fit in with the concept of source study as a method of inquiry and a process of discovery Horn proposes that "each of the selections should be of sufficient length to have meaning for the student, and the origin and history of each should be included."<sup>40</sup>

The selection of documents for classroom use by publishing companies has been one of the weakest aspects of the source method, though the difficulty tends to be a natural one as Elson points out, "Most primary sources in history are not fitted for use in schools, nor were they prepared with that end in view."<sup>41</sup>

Recent developments in the employment of historical documents in classrooms in the United States are discussed later in this chapter.

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<sup>40</sup> Ibid., p. 239.

<sup>41</sup> H. W. Elson, Side Lights on American History (New York, 1928) I, p. iv, cited by Johnson, op. cit., p. 289.







### A Historical Perspective on the Source Method in England

The origin of the source method in England has been traced by Batho.<sup>42</sup> The earliest English developments, he notes, were inspired by American reports on the use of sources.<sup>43</sup> In 1906 the Historical Association (of Great Britain) published a pamphlet, Source Books, by Sir Charles Harding Firth.<sup>44</sup> This stimulated (in England) interest in the use of sources and a number of publishers responded quickly to this interest by producing source books.<sup>45</sup> Few of these, however, were intended for schools and it was mainly on account of the work of Keatinge that the source method was popularized in the next decade.<sup>46</sup>

Writing in 1909, Keatinge<sup>47</sup> argued for the judicious use of documents in the history lesson on two grounds--one as the basis for a pedagogic method, the other as 'atmosphere'. Focussing on the question "How can history be made into a real training for the mind?",<sup>48</sup> Keatinge suggested that the methods of the modern scientific historian provided an avenue for attacking the difficulty. Many persons, he observed, were of such "a simple and trusting disposition [that] everything that appears in print seems to be equally worthy of credence. Our

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<sup>42</sup>G.R. Batho, "The Origins of the Source Method in England," Handbook for History Teachers edited by W.H. Burston and G.W. Green (London: Methuen, 1962), pp. 95-108.

<sup>43</sup>Ibid., p. 95.    <sup>44</sup>Ibid.    <sup>45</sup>Ibid.    <sup>46</sup>Ibid., p. 96.

<sup>47</sup>Maurice W. Keatinge, Studies in the Teaching of History (London: Black, 1921).

<sup>48</sup>Ibid., p. 38.



students must not be allowed to remain in this blissful state of mind."<sup>49</sup> Therefore, he suggested that each historical topic should be reduced to problem form, and that the relevant documents should be "placed straight in the boy's hand for him to use his wits upon."<sup>50</sup> Thus what he called the elements of sincerity and accuracy--the criteria of historical criticism--could be applied by the student to each document as 'training for the mind'. Like Johnson and Hardwick, Keatinge provides many interesting examples of how this might be done.

Keatinge does not define 'atmosphere' in the history lesson, but in describing the process of giving atmosphere he talks about stimulating the imagination, capturing the boys' attention and providing circumstances where reasoning is a secondary consideration. His examples, however, seem clearer than his exposition of the idea.<sup>51</sup> A more recent English writer, Charlton, borrows heavily from Keatinge's writings and suggests that "the teacher's main function when using documents is to stimulate curiosity by asking the question,--How do we know?"<sup>52</sup> The search for the answer to this question should lead the student through an analysis of the reliability of testimony to the development of the skill of historical inquiry.

### Recent Developments

The influence of Hardwick and Sutherland in British Columbia seems

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<sup>49</sup>Ibid., p. 39.    <sup>50</sup>Ibid., p. 40.    <sup>51</sup>Ibid., pp. 96-104.

<sup>52</sup>Kenneth Charlton, "Source Material and the Teaching of History," Educational Review, No. 9, November 1956, p. 60.



to have manifested itself in the recently published Report of the History Advisory Committee for British Columbia Secondary Schools. A model of sequence in the history curriculum, the Committee reports, should be developed from the viewpoint of the historian. The demands of the discipline--its unity and its structure--determines the methods advocated and the objectives selected, according to the Committee. Understanding of the subject, the Committee believes, is most effectively secured through the inductive method, which involves the study in depth of a representative period.<sup>53</sup> "The selection of topics [for depth study], each carefully introduced, must be made to illustrate historical continuity and development"<sup>54</sup> and in this respect the Committee recommends the study of original historical sources.

Another committee that has recently looked at methods of teaching history is the Committee on the Study of History, centred on Amherst College, Massachusetts. This committee is receiving financial support for its research from the United States Office of Education. Starting with the premise that much history is badly taught in today's schools and contributes little or nothing to the maturing of the student's own intellectual powers, the Committee is developing a series of units, "designed for approximately two weeks of study, which treat the student to original historical evidence--the source materials of the historian--

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<sup>53</sup> John R. Meredith, "What shall the Social Studies teach?" B.C. Teacher, Vol. 44, No. 5, February 1964, p. 209.

<sup>54</sup> "Suggested Programs in History for B.C. Secondary Schools," Explorations, Vol. 4, No. 2, February 1964, p. 20.







and ask him to come to his own conclusions."<sup>55</sup> The Committee stresses the fact that the organization of documents will centre around the structure of the discipline, and that the structure of history is the scholar's approach to his discipline. "In history," the Committee's prospectus states, "the hope is that he [the student] will learn to ask questions of historical evidence; to make hypotheses and refine them in the light of further evidence; and to perceive the limits of his own generalizations"<sup>56</sup> In this manner the student's critical skills can be developed and the student will be able to perceive that "the essence of the study of history is inquiry, not the pointless mastery of facts."<sup>57</sup>

#### The Functions of the Document as a Pedagogic Technique

In the past eighty years different writers on the subject have advocated that varying emphasis be placed on the use of documents in the classroom. Four different positions can be identified.

As basic source material. Hilleman notes that Mary Sheldon Barnes and a number of other teachers in Nebraska in the 1890's favoured this approach.<sup>58</sup> The technique usually involved giving the student a copy of historical document together with a questionnaire based on the content of

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<sup>55</sup>Richard C. Brown, "A New Approach to American History" (reprint from New England Association Review, Fall 1964.

<sup>56</sup>Ibid., p. 1.

<sup>57</sup>"Prospectus: Committee on the Study of History" September 1964, (mimeographed).

<sup>58</sup>Hilleman, op. cit., p. 70.



the document. The student read the document to establish, select and organize the facts, and then answered the questions, either in sentence or paragraph form. Sutherland in his earliest writing<sup>59</sup> seems to be suggesting a similar technique. Criticism of this technique, Hilleman points out,<sup>60</sup> is directed against the fragmentary nature of the course and its lack of unity. Horn<sup>61</sup> also questions the assumption that the basic ideas of a historical character, say! Plato, can be derived from the study of two or three pages of a document about him or by him.

As supplementary source material. Hilleman describes this technique as the derived use of sources.<sup>62</sup> By far the greater number of writers on the subject have recommended that the document be used as "supplementary reading,"<sup>63</sup> as "collateral reading,"<sup>64</sup> or as an integral part of the social studies reading program.<sup>65</sup> Using the document in this fashion permits it to become either illustrative or enrichment material. Such criticism that has been directed against this approach has centred on either the brevity or the inadequacy of the document selected. Published collections of documents, particularly, have been criticized along these lines.<sup>66</sup>

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<sup>59</sup>Sutherland (1960), op. cit., p. 3.      <sup>60</sup>Hilleman, loc. cit.

<sup>61</sup>Horn, op. cit., pp. 236-7.      <sup>62</sup>Hilleman, op. cit., p. 71.

<sup>63</sup>Andrews, op. cit., p. 466.      <sup>64</sup>Johnson, op. cit., p. 285.

<sup>65</sup>Horn, op. cit., p. 236.

<sup>66</sup>Barbara Frazer, One World, No. 4, April 1964, Inside back cover.



As a part of a research or problem solving procedure. Two writers have suggested that children be allowed to search out documents as part of a historical research project, or that they use documents to form a judgement about a historical problem. Rolla Tryon in her discussion on the "topical method" outlines the features of the research project approach<sup>67</sup> while Keatinge attempts to show how the latter proposal can be accomplished.<sup>68</sup> These suggestions have had considerable currency in educational writings in the past fifty years, and with the renewed interest in inductive reasoning and discovery techniques are apparently now (1965) enjoying a revival.

As a part of a set of documents. Recognition of the difficulty of extracting substantial ideas from single documents has caused a number of proponents of the source method to consider using sets of documents on the same topic to establish fundamental concepts about historical events and periods and to develop the skills of the historian. Brown<sup>69</sup> has examined this idea with regard to American history. Batho has prepared materials for British Columbia,<sup>70</sup> and has also collected source materials for teaching about local events of national significance in English history.<sup>71</sup> When documents are presented in sets, particular

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<sup>67</sup>Tryon, op. cit., pp. 69-76.      <sup>68</sup>Keatinge, op. cit., pp. 40-2.

<sup>69</sup>Brown, op. cit., p. 1.      <sup>70</sup>Batho (1964), op. cit., p. 64.

<sup>71</sup>G. R. Batho, "Archive Teaching Units," Visual Education, No. 8, December 1958, pp. 8-10.







items may be employed either as basic source materials, or as supplementary source materials, or as parts of research or problem solving procedures.

#### REPORTS ON THE USE OF DOCUMENTS BY TEACHERS

Application of the source method in the classroom has been reported by several practitioners. The evidence presented in those reports indicates that documents have been more generally employed in the senior and junior high school than in the elementary school. A number of these reports have been outlined in this section to illustrate the values of source method that teachers have recognised.

Moulton<sup>72</sup> used documentary materials with a Grade VII class in Chicago in order "to develop an emotional and rational commitment to the importance of certain issues"<sup>73</sup> and observed an increase in interest on the part of the students and a rise in note-taking proficiency.

Shenkir<sup>74</sup> reports using documents with a junior high school class in Texas in an endeavour to make students see the personal side of history. She felt that she was generally successful in overcoming the student's tendency to isolate himself from the subject of history. The heightened interest in history which she noted in her students

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<sup>72</sup>Muriel Moulton, "Using Documents in Junior High School," Social Education, Vol. XXVI, No. 6, October 1962, pp. 310-11.

<sup>73</sup>Ibid., p.310.

<sup>74</sup>Mary C. Shenkir, "How History Begins," Texas Outlook, Vol. 47, No. 9, September 1963, pp. 38-9.



corresponds with de Leeuw's<sup>75</sup> findings about the use of photostated documents with Grade V children on a field trip to Drumheller, Alberta.

Batho,<sup>76</sup> who has done work in England and in British Columbia, attempted to enliven the study of history by producing a series of "archive teaching units"--kits containing a number of simulated historical documents--on the Cariboo Wagon Road in British Columbia. These materials were tried out in some Grade VII classes in Vancouver, and are now generally available to teachers in British Columbia.

In the United States at the high school level the Secondary School History Committee "experimented" between 1960 and 1963 with a collection of documents in the Amherst, Massachusetts area in an endeavour to develop students' skills, maturity and experience in the field of history. The outcome of the "experiment" has been the publication of a set of source material units<sup>77</sup> for the college-bound high school student.

Bowes, an American high school teacher, reports on a project he conducted using historical documents to test three basic social studies concepts.<sup>78</sup> He found that students can abstract a single concept more

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<sup>75</sup>G. deLeeuw, Field Study in the Badlands (County of Mountain View, 1964), p. 20.

<sup>76</sup>Batho (1964), op. cit., p. 64.

<sup>77</sup>Committee on the Study of History, New Dimensions in American History (Boston: D.C. Heath, 1964).

<sup>78</sup>John S. Bowes, "Using Documentary Material in the American History Course," Social Education, Vol. XXVIII, No. 2, February 1964, pp. 88-95.



easily from one document than they can make a comparative generalization from two documents. Similarly more students could produce comparative generalizations than could abstract underlying principles from a number of sources. Bowes concludes that this is an area of research that has been largely neglected and is one in which "those whose charge it is to assist the classroom teacher, particularly the less experienced one, might do valuable service."<sup>79</sup> A similar study is reported by Happold,<sup>80</sup> who describes a situation in which primary and secondary source materials were used as the basis for a General Certificate of Education--Ordinary Alternative level (roughly Grade XI)--history examination in Salisbury, England. He speculates about the use of historical documents in examinations leading to less dependence on memory in the study of history and to a more enlightened curriculum.

Gittus<sup>81</sup> reports on a summer school project in local history for junior high school students in Rochester, Minnesota. This project was conducted in the local museum and each student produced a short research paper on some aspect of local history. The high level of historical interest generated in the children is reported as the most significant feature of the project.

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<sup>79</sup>Ibid., p. 95.

<sup>80</sup>F.C. Happold, "The Salisbury Experiment in History Examinations," Times Educational Supplement, 8 March 1957, p. 35.

<sup>81</sup>Arthur Gittus, "A Course in Local History," Social Education, Vol. XXVII, No. 3, March 1963, p. 147.







The archivist of the Essex Record Office, F.G. Emmison,<sup>82</sup> reports that the Record Office employs a history teacher whose function is to prepare archival display materials for schools, to give lectures, and to prepare kits of resource materials involving archives. Stones<sup>83</sup> also reports that archival materials have been used with adults and senior students successfully in a course on industrial history at Accrington, Lancashire.

The writers of these reports were usually involved in the project in an intimate way and no evidence was presented that experimental controls, such as evaluation by an independent qualified observer or by objective test instruments, were established to check the reliability of the teacher's findings. It would seem that teachers were primarily concerned with the documents' motivational values, such as increasing interest, personalizing and enlivening history, and with the development of such skills as formulating generalizations, producing research reports, and selecting relevant information. Very little has been reported by teachers on the inherent qualities of documents as curriculum materials.

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<sup>82</sup>F. G. Emmison, "Spotlight on Archives," Times Educational Supplement, April 3, 1964, pp. 844-45.

<sup>83</sup>E. Stones, "Local Sources in the Study and Teaching of Industrial History," Vocational Aspect of Secondary and Further Education, No. 9, Autumn 1957, pp. 112-115.



## RESEARCH ON THE SOURCE METHOD

Only four research projects involving the source method, appear to have been undertaken. Of these, only one (Gold) has been concerned with the use of source materials in the classroom; the others have simply used historical sources in experiments designed to evaluate reading procedures, critical thinking abilities and discovery processes in history.

The paucity of research may be due to several factors. The source method, it would appear, has not attracted universal teacher interest.<sup>84</sup> Furthermore the quality of the sources used seems to be a significant variable in assessing the utility of method,<sup>85</sup> and no evidence in this area could be located. Finally the role of the source method in pedagogy, with its peculiar application to history, lacks clear definition. As mentioned previously, sources in history teaching may be used in several ways. When used as basic materials, sources substitute for the textbook. When used as supplements, sources become a part of the enrichment program. Sources may also be used in research and problem solving procedures, and, it appears, may be merged with any of the other pedagogic procedures. One apparent result of such merging is that the source method has attracted the attention of few researchers.

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<sup>84</sup>R.U. Hilleman, "The Source Method in the Teaching of History," The Historical Approach to Methods of Teaching Social Studies (Fifth Yearbook, National Council for the Social Studies, Philadelphia, 1935), p. 68.

<sup>85</sup>Horn, op. cit., p. 237.



Only one study has investigated the extent of the use of source materials in the classroom. Gold<sup>86</sup> in 1917 surveyed the methods and content of history courses in a number of United States high schools. In answer to the question, "Do you use source materials?" 113 teachers out of 135 answered in the affirmative. However, 45 per cent of the respondents admitted that they made little use of source materials, and another 24 per cent said they used sources mainly as illustrative materials. The remaining teachers generally used prepared source books as supplementary materials, though two teachers stated that the verbal testimony of old settlers had been used. The most frequently reported reason for using sources was 'to make history live', with 'to stimulate interest' the next most frequently reported. 'As a basis for written work' was only reported once as a reason for using source materials and many teachers felt that the immaturity of the students, the lack of time, and the poor quality of materials were serious limitations on the more general use of historical documents.

The significance of Gold's findings is restricted by the age of the study. However, the previously reported opinions of teachers who have used sources in the classroom tend to endorse his findings that teachers used sources to stimulate interest and to enliven history, but a comprehensive survey of teacher reaction to the source method has not been conducted recently.

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<sup>86</sup>Hugo Gold, "Methods and Content of Courses in History in High Schools of the United States," School Review, Vol. 25, No.4, April 1917, pp. 274-282.







Weaver<sup>87</sup> conducted an investigation on the relative value of intensive study and extensive reading in a United States history course with seventh grade students. The purpose of the study was to determine and compare the historical understandings gained through study of the two procedures under investigation. Two sections of the seventh grade class studied the same unit of American history but the twenty-one students in the intensive study section were directed and guided by the teachers and did assignments. The students in the other section using the extensive reading procedure, were provided with a variety of carefully selected source materials and were largely self-directing. For study of the next unit, the procedures were alternated with the two sections. Three tests were administered for each unit to evaluate student comprehension of basic historical understandings. Weaver reports:

. . . it appears that the understanding of United States history gained by pupils in the seventh grade when they read extensively from carefully selected accounts of a subject of study is as good as, if not better than, the understanding which they gain when they study a few carefully selected accounts intensively and prepare exercises focussed on these accounts.<sup>88</sup>

Weaver's findings appear significant as the three tests he conducted in each unit with both sections revealed no significant loss of understanding through the extensive study of source materials. However his sample only consisted of 42 students and no information is provided

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<sup>87</sup>R.B. Weaver, "The Relative Value of Intensive Study and Extensive Reading in United States History," School Review, Vol. 39, No. 3, March 1931, pp. 217-226.

<sup>88</sup>Ibid., p. 226.



on the reliability of his test instruments.

A study by Rothstein<sup>89</sup> hypothesised that in a group where there was concentrated emphasis on the goal of thinking, there would be no loss in the acquisition of subject matter content, and that in this group greater gains in the ability to think critically would be achieved than in a class where there was incidental emphasis on critical thinking. Two groups of grade eleven students were matched on the basis of test scores in mental ability, English, reading and critical thinking skills. Both groups studied American history for thirty-five weeks. The experimental group were provided with carefully prepared curriculum materials, including primary sources, which focussed attention on thinking, while the control group were taught "conventionally."

Rothstein reports that students in the experimental group developed and improved their critical thinking abilities well and showed no loss in subject matter achievement as compared with the control group.<sup>90</sup> He also noted incidentally that students in the experimental group "revealed some degree of enthusiasm for the course."<sup>91</sup>

Rothstein summarises his findings in the following manner,

It is clear that the growth in thinking ability can be expected to derive from focussed instruction, and that when there is such focus, the students reflect in their test scores increased ability to apply the techniques of critical thinking.<sup>92</sup>

In view of the emphasis placed on the development of critical

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<sup>89</sup> Harold Rothstein, "An Experiment in Developing Critical Thinking Through the Teaching of American History," Dissertation Abstracts, Vol. XXI, Nov. 5, November 1960, p. 1141.

<sup>90</sup> Ibid.      <sup>91</sup> Ibid.      <sup>92</sup> Ibid.





thinking skills by advocates of the source method, these findings seem quite important.

One other study, by Massialas and Zevin,<sup>93</sup> explored the dimensions and implications of teaching a class of thirty-five grade ten students in a one year course on world history. To study selected social events in depth, primary use was made of historical documents whose author, date, and other referents had been completely deleted. The teacher was non-directive, and secondary sources were only introduced as supplements to the study of historical events. The results indicated that students were able to utilize the process of discovery and inquiry successfully in the development of critical thinking and work study skills. The investigators also noted that the game-like qualities of the discovery process had a motivating effect on the students and that students exhibited a great deal of personal involvement with the materials used.

However, it should be noted that this study was exploratory and that most of the findings were based on observations of a limited sample. The significance of the study rests largely in its description of the procedures adopted and the types of sources used.

#### CONCLUDING STATEMENT

The evidence of most writers on the subject suggests that the source method has many advantages. Its appeal to teachers who have used the method successfully lies in its capacity to stimulate the students'

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<sup>93</sup>Byron G. Massialas and Jack Zevin, "Teaching Social Studies Through Discovery," Social Education, Vol. 28, No. 7, November 1964, pp. 384-387, 400.





imagination, to increase interest in historical study, to humanize the characters of former times, and to reduce the cultural gap between the present and the past. In a properly organized unit or collection of documents, it has been suggested that students readily acquire the skills of critical thinking, such as hypothesizing, making inferences, developing and refining generalizations, and reaching their own tentative conclusions. As a method used to supplement the teacher's regular presentation, the source method provides opportunities for the student to discover the data of history for himself and to delve deeper into areas that interest him. A very limited amount of research, which substantiates these ideas, has been undertaken.

Even so the source method is not reported to be widely used. The most serious limitation of the source method, it has been noted is the quality of the sources available. The brevity of some sources, the pedagogic irrelevance and historical insignificance of others, and the general shortage of suitable materials appears to have discouraged teachers from employing the method more often. The standard textbook is not usually concerned with source materials, and published source books tend to provide fragmentary, and often inadequate materials covering vast eras in time. Recently published kits of documents and "archive teaching units" come closest to meeting the needs of the social studies teacher for an ample supply of resource materials for a historical study in depth.

No research, it seems has been conducted to determine whether a limited number of documents can be selected for an area or period in such a way that it is possible to hypothesize from them the significant conclusions of historians. This study proposes to examine this question.



## CHAPTER III

### HISTORY OF THE CANADIAN PACIFIC RAILWAY AND THE SETTLEMENT OF CALGARY UP TO 1890

The purpose of this account is to give a comprehensive summary of the significant events of the period in this area of study, to form a contextual framework for the historical documents in the following chapters, and to present the significant historical conclusions that interested historians have formulated about the period.

The narrative is concerned with the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway, and the difficulties incurred, across the southern prairie and into the mountains of Alberta throughout the years 1883 to 1885. It includes a brief account of the first Canadian Pacific Railway Company's formation in 1872, its demise in 1873, the Dominion Government's construction program between 1873 and 1880, and the incorporation of the second Canadian Pacific Railway Company in 1881 as background to the construction period. The complications of political intrigue and financial manipulation which surrounded the company's activities in the early years of its operation do not form a part of this account. Essential though these aspects of the company's history are to a complete understanding of Canada's railway policy at that time, they are not essential to this study which is more concerned with the impact of the railway's activities on the social and economic development of the prairie frontier.

The last two sections of the narrative examine the founding of Calgary and the consequences for settlement in that area of the arrival



of the railway in August 1883. The emphasis is again placed on the activities of people and the things that affected their daily lives, rather than on the legal and political aspects of early settlement.

## THE EARLY DAYS OF THE CANADIAN PACIFIC

### RAILWAY COMPANY 1872-1880

The Charlottetown Conference of 1864 ushered in a new era of nation building for the composite area known then as British North America. Just previously Edward Watkin, the president of the Grand Trunk Railway Company, and a number of other business men connected with the company had bought out the Hudson's Bay Company in the name of the International Financial Society one year earlier<sup>1</sup> with the intention of building a telegraph line and a road or railway to the Pacific. Thus the best empty lands of the Northwest and the small settlements on the Red River became linked with a plan for transcontinental communication with the strong possibility of railway transportation to follow. Although this plan failed to materialize, the connection between control of the land and the extension of transportation from coast to coast had been revealed, and in 1869 the recently formed government of the Dominion of Canada acquired the same tract of land. The connection between the joint tasks of moulding a nation and developing a transcontinental railway system became more closely integrated. The issue really began to take substance in 1871 when the Dominion Government

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<sup>1</sup>G. P. de T. Glazebrook, A History of Transportation in Canada (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1938), pp. 233-4.







guaranteed to build within ten years a railway linking British Columbia to the rest of Canada in return for that province's admission into Confederation. The original agreement of 1867 had been predicated on the construction of a railway at federal expense (the Inter-colonial) between the St. Lawrence and Halifax. The admission of British Columbia necessitated the vastly more expensive project of a transcontinental railway. To a large extent the fate of Confederation became dependent on the fulfillment of the government's promise of a railway to the Pacific.

In some ways the reasons for Confederation can be closely identified with those advanced for a transcontinental railway. Glazebrook offers the explanation that the promise of a railway was made because "There was a fear of invasion by American railways."<sup>2</sup> The Union Pacific Railway had, in fact, completed its line in 1869. The fear of American settlement of the North West was probably just as threatening on the basis of Minnesota's attitude toward Manitoba,<sup>3</sup> or of the aggressive enthusiasm of some Americans for "manifest destiny" following the acquisition of Alaska by the United States in 1867.<sup>4</sup> That the abrogation of the Reciprocity Treaty with the United States in 1866 had caused both the government and Ontario industrialists to look east and west for new trade instead of south was another reason for pushing

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<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p. 238.

<sup>3</sup> W. L. Morton, Manitoba, A History (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1957), p. 106.

<sup>4</sup> J. M. Gibbon, Steel of Empire (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1935), p. 157.



ahead with a transcontinental railway. Glazebrook includes the chapter on the building of the Canadian Pacific Railway in his section on the conditions required for the creation of a National Economy.<sup>5</sup>

Innis proposes that the railway was built to accelerate the "spread of western civilization"<sup>6</sup> with its concepts of permanent settlement, commercial agriculture, regular work and a well-ordered life into an area where these concepts had hitherto been foreign. By no means least among the reasons advanced was the proposition of an imperial highway to the Orient. Perry's visit to Japan in 1853, the Peking Treaty of 1860, and the growth of Hong Kong had opened up numerous trade opportunities in the Orient for occidental nations. "The rapidly increasing trade," says Gibbon, "made the need for a short, direct overland route to the mother country through British North America all the more desirable."<sup>7</sup> Even the defence of the nation could be considered an important reason for building the railway. Wolseley's expedition to the Red River in 1870 had shown the inadequacies of transportation to the North West, and should an all-Canadian route be urgently needed against possible intrusion from the south, none existed in 1871. It is interesting to note that the first urgent demand on the railway was for military reasons in 1885 when troops had to be

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<sup>5</sup>Glazebrook, op. cit., p. xxiv.

<sup>6</sup>H. A. Innis, A History of the Canadian Pacific Railway (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1923), p. 128.

<sup>7</sup>Gibbon, op. cit., pp. 91-2.



rushed from Ontario and Quebec to quash the Saskatchewan Rebellion.<sup>8</sup> In essence each of these reasons--fear of foreign intrusion, development of a national economy, the spread of Western civilization, the establishment of an imperial highway, or the security of the realm--can be subsumed under the general purpose of building a distinct Canadian nation. The Pacific railway was a vital, sometimes slender, thread that made this purpose possible.

During the years 1870 to 1872 the rivalry between the two financial groups bidding for the railway contract placed the Conservative government of Sir John A. Macdonald in an awkward position. Sir Hugh Allan, heading a Montreal group called the Canada Pacific Railway Company was strongly associated with vested railway interests in the United States. Fears of an American takeover of the completed line made this combination unacceptable. The Toronto-based group, the Inter Oceanic Company, led by D. L. Macpherson, was no more acceptable, however, as it could be closely identified with the Grand Trunk Railway which proposed to build a line to Fort Garry via Chicago. A compromise was reached by forming a new company--the Canadian Pacific Railway Company--with a board of directors made up in part of men from each of the two competing groups, under Allan's leadership. The charter, drawn up on February 5, 1873, indicated that

The company . . . was to have a capital of ten million dollars; and [that] the line had to be begun within two, and--unless an extension were granted by parliament--to be finished within ten years. . . . The company was to receive thirty million dollars

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<sup>8</sup>Ibid., pp. 285-6.







and a land grant of fifty million acres, with additional land grants for branches.<sup>9</sup>

Obtaining a charter to build a railway and putting it on an operative basis were to be different propositions as Sir Hugh Allan, the head of the new company, found out. Shortly after the beginning of the first session of the new Parliament in 1873, Sir John A. Macdonald was challenged by L.S. Huntingdon, a Liberal, to clarify the relationship between the government and the president of the new Canadian Pacific Railway Company. With information provided by one of the disappointed American interests, the Liberals were able to lay before Parliament conclusive evidence of Sir John A. Macdonald's and Sir George Cartier's demands on Sir Hugh Allan for campaign funds. The implications were obvious. Macdonald resigned in 1873 and the Liberals took over the government. After several unsuccessful attempts to interest private companies in the enterprise, the Liberal government was obliged to make the operation a public responsibility in order to provide connecting links between existing railway lines and waterways to facilitate migration to Manitoba.

The Liberal period of administration, 1873 to 1878, was marked by a distinct slowdown in the task of providing a transcontinental railway. Surveys were begun under Sandford Fleming through the mountains and in British Columbia, but the painstaking work was frustratingly slow. Furthermore, indecision about the terminus of the railway in British Columbia delayed construction in that province, and for a few years, 1874

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<sup>9</sup>Glazebrook, op. cit., p. 245.



to 1877, threatened the whole basis of the Confederation concept. By 1880, however, 722 miles of track had been laid and were in operation.<sup>10</sup> The cautious Liberal policy of only spending on the railway what the government could afford and of attempting to make the railway pay its own way had done little to stimulate settlement or to consolidate the different provinces into a single nation.

The return of Sir John A. Macdonald to power in 1878 was followed in 1880 by the return of private enterprise to the task of constructing the line. Negotiations were opened cautiously with prospective bidders for the contract and in August 1880, agreement was reached with D. J. McIntyre<sup>11</sup> who represented a financial syndicate including George Stephen, the president of the Bank of Montreal, R. B. Angus, the general manager of the same bank, Donald A. Smith, one time a director of the St. Paul, Minneapolis and Manitoba railway, and a Canadian, James J. Hill, the president of the same railway company. The terms of the charter were ratified by the government on December 10, 1880, and provided the company with somewhat less aid than the previous C.P.R. contract.

The cash grant was twenty-five million dollars. The land grant was reduced to twenty-five million acres, but this was offset by a provision for "indemnity selection" which allowed the syndicate to choose fertile land in place of any part of its grant that proved unsuitable for settlement. In addition the government handed over to the company the seven hundred miles of road already built, allowed its materials to come in duty free, exempted it from taxes on its land for twenty years, and on its property forever, forbade the construction of any competing line to the south or to the southwest during the next twenty years, and promised that there

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<sup>10</sup>ibid., p. 261.    <sup>11</sup>ibid., p. 265.



would be no regulation of rates until the company was earning ten per cent. The work was to be completed by 1891.<sup>12</sup>

The Liberals raised a great outcry against the generosity of the terms but the government majority in parliament prevailed. The recent success of the same syndicate with the St. Paul, Minneapolis and Manitoba Railway spurred them to immediate action. The Boston engineer, Onderdonk, had already pushed 127 miles of track along the Fraser Valley<sup>13</sup> and he was given a contract for the British Columbia section of the track. The position of general manager of the company with the major responsibility of building the line across the prairies to meet the British Columbia section was given to William Van Horne, a human dynamo from the United States with a brilliant reputation for organizing. His completion of the line five years ahead of the deadline showed that his reputation was not unearned.

#### THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE RAILROAD

The contract for the construction of the track across the prairie was given to Langdon, Sheppard and Company of St. Paul. Van Horne set a construction target of five hundred miles for the first full year of track laying (1882). With almost military precision the whole operation was organized so that supplies were always on hand, gangs of workers were ready to use them, and no delay should occur. The contractors were liable to a fine of five thousand dollars for every hour lost

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<sup>12</sup>Edgar McInnis, Canada. A Political and Social History (Toronto: Rinehart and Company, 1959), p. 332.

<sup>13</sup>Glazebrook, op. cit., p. 261.







through delay.<sup>14</sup> "In places," Gibbon and Pardoe wrote, "the track was laid so rapidly that there was no time to set up camp."<sup>15</sup> The principle of division of labor was so refined that for the erection of station buildings, for example, as many as five gangs of workers--the frame constructors, the roofers and floorlayers, the plasterers, the joiners, and the painters--would follow each other rapidly down the track so that five stations were being built simultaneously.<sup>16</sup> When conditions were favourable an average of three miles of track could be laid on the prairies in one day, and on one occasion near Strathmore nine miles was laid in one day. Testimony of the rapidity of construction is cited by Innis, who reports on the frequency of the company's claims for the subsidy, payable after each twenty miles of track had been laid.<sup>17</sup> In 1883--the year the track crossed Alberta--claims for 360 miles were made in the period from June 26 to December 6. Van Horne had failed by fifty-five miles to reach his 500 mile target in 1882, but by the end of 1883 over 900 miles of track had been laid through a region whose construction difficulties had been seriously underestimated.

In its haste to become an operative and productive enterprise, the company's long term plans for the construction of the entire line were rather sketchy at first. The previous recommendation of Sandford

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<sup>14</sup>L. H. Bussard, "Early History of Calgary" (unpublished Master's thesis, University of Alberta, Edmonton, 1935), p. 49.

<sup>15</sup>J. M. Gibbon and S. Pardoe, Engineering Wonders of the World (Nelson & Son, 1935), cited by Gibbon, op. cit., p. 240.

<sup>16</sup>Ibid. <sup>17</sup>Innis, op. cit., p. 106.



Fleming<sup>18</sup> to run the track through Edmonton and the Yellowhead Pass was rejected, and the new directors, apparently on their own initiative, decided to run the track through the Kicking Horse Pass, discovered by Sir James Hector and not seriously considered by Sandford Fleming as a prospective route. Surveys of the region were still being made when the decision was taken and the means for crossing the formidable Selkirk range were still in doubt. Tunnels were considered but the delay and expense were discouraging factors until Major A. B. Rogers discovered (or perhaps re-discovered)<sup>19</sup> the pass now bearing his name. Another instance where luck rather than planning was decisive concerns Tunnel Mountain near Banff. The earliest plans called for a tunnel through the mountain. The prospect of this obstruction delaying progress so alarmed Van Horne that he commanded one of his engineers to "Get rid of that damned tunnel." Fortunately the impossible task of moving a mountain was eliminated by the accidental discovery of a creek which bypassed the mountain.<sup>20</sup>

The magnitude of the construction difficulties tended to increase in the mountain section but not all the problems were caused by nature. Control of the workers and appeasement of the Indians were constant

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<sup>18</sup>Sandford Fleming, Report on the Canadian Pacific Railway (Ottawa, 1877), p. 17.

<sup>19</sup>There is some evidence to believe that the pass was first discovered by Walter Moberly in 1865. Gibbon, however, asserts that Rogers followed Moberly's tracks until an unnamed fork of the Illecillewaet River was reached. Moberly took the north branch and missed the pass. Rogers took the south branch and found it. (Gibbon, op. cit., pp. 131-2).

<sup>20</sup>H. E. Secretan, Canada's Great Highway. From First Stake to Last Spike (Ottawa: Thorburn and Abbott, 1924), pp. 104-7.



problems. In this endeavour the value of the North West Mounted Police as an agency of law and order became more evident. Throughout the whole period of construction the Police were stationed close to the construction camps. In the early stages of construction the Indians were very suspicious of the project, and chiefs, like Piapot, attempted to obstruct the work by camping on the line.<sup>21</sup> Firm police action prevented a direct confrontation of the Indians with the construction gangs, and the work was able to proceed uninterrupted. On another occasion the Blackfeet became alarmed that the track was going to cross through their reserve in violation of the Treaty of 1877. While the Indians were prepared to take to the warpath, and the construction gangs continued disdainfully to lay track through the reserve, Father Lacombe arrived at the Blackfeet camp with gifts of tobacco, tea and blankets and persuaded them that the government would reward them if they allowed the work to continue. Crowfoot, chief of the Blackfeet, agreed and another possibly serious situation was avoided. For their parts in this drama, Father Lacombe became the president of the company for an hour during which time he granted himself free use of the telegraph services for life, and Crowfoot was given a free pass on the railway for life.<sup>22</sup>

Labor problems were most generally associated with pay. The company was plagued with financial difficulties throughout the entire

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<sup>21</sup> John P. Turner, The North West Mounted Police, 1873-1893 (Ottawa: King's Printer, 1950), Vol. II, pp. 5-7.

<sup>22</sup> Ibid., pp. 19-21.







period of construction and was only saved by a number of timely government grants. On at least two occasions the workers attempted to take the law into their own hands when they thought the employers were reneging on the labor contract. In August 1883 on completion of the Calgary section of the line, the workers demanded passes which would take them back east as the contract had specified on completion of the work. The employers, however, refused to grant passes as a new contract had been obtained to continue the line from Calgary towards the mountains. The men became aggressive, commandeered some of the railway's flatcars and refused to move until their demands were satisfied. The police were called, evicted the men from the flatcars and attempted to solve the problem through negotiations.<sup>23</sup> Two years later a more violent strike over the non-payment of wages occurred at Beavermouth and the Mounted Police found it necessary to draw their guns and to arrest many of the 700 demonstrators before peace was restored.<sup>24</sup> Shortly after, the men were paid and the work continued.

Construction in the mountain region was much slower and more expensive than on the plains. Plagued persistently by financial crises, the company hovered on the brink of failure throughout 1884 and 1885. More reluctantly than before, the government helped the company to overcome its financial obstacles by loaning \$22,500,000 in January

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<sup>23</sup>R. G. Macbeth, Policing the Plains (Toronto: Musson Company, 1931), pp. 99-100.

<sup>24</sup>S. B. Steele, Forty Years in Canada (Toronto: McClelland, Goodchild and Stewart, 1915), pp. 197-201.



1884,<sup>25</sup> and an additional \$5,000,000 in July 1885.<sup>26</sup> The British Columbia section of the line was completed on July 29, 1885, and the company, stimulated by the prospect of completing the line and reinforced with a new loan, pushed on to fulfil its prediction of completion by the fall of 1885. On November 7, 1885, the last spike was driven into the line at Craigellachie, and the first train from the east went on to the Pacific to be followed by the institution of a regular passenger service from Montreal to the Pacific coast on the twenty-eighth of the following June, 1886.

To Stephen, the Canadian Pacific meant a link had been established between Hong Kong and Liverpool, between the Orient and Europe. A new imperial highway had been opened and to improve its service the company was already expanding into the steamship business. Sir John A. Macdonald reacted to the completion by writing, "I feel that I have done my work and can now sing my Nunc Dimittis."<sup>28</sup>

#### THE CALGARY AREA UP TO 1883

Prior to 1870 the prairie of southern Alberta, on the fringes of which the present city of Calgary is located, was dominated by the buffalo and the Blackfeet Indians. Not all the white men who entered the territory lived to describe its features but it is reported that Anthony

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<sup>25</sup>Innis, op. cit., p. 120.      <sup>26</sup>Ibid., p. 126.

<sup>27</sup>Gibbon, op. cit., p. 303.

<sup>28</sup>Letter, Macdonald to Lord Carnarvon, cited by Gibbon, op. cit., p. 302.



Henday spent the winter in the district in 1754-55.<sup>29</sup> David Thompson passed through in 1787 and explored sections of the Bow River,<sup>30</sup> followed in 1792 by Peter Fidler who wintered on the Little Bow.<sup>31</sup> Thompson revisited the area in 1800.<sup>32</sup> Captain John Palliser explored the region in 1858<sup>33</sup> and his name is still used in connection with the dry, triangular plain of southern Alberta and southwestern Saskatchewan, and a hotel in Calgary. His companion, James Hector, explored the Bow River to its source in the mountains,<sup>34</sup> and it was on this trip that his horse kicked him as he was struggling to keep on the trail of a newly found pass in the mountains, the Kicking Horse Pass, later used by the Canadian Pacific Railway. The explorers, however, seldom stayed in the area long. The aridity of the climate, the sparseness of vegetation, together with the hostility of the Blackfeet, they reported, discouraged permanent settlement.

A few missionaries stayed in the area longer. Rev. Robert Rundle worked among the Blackfeet on the Bow and among the Stoneys

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<sup>29</sup>Bussard, op. cit., p. 4.

<sup>30</sup>Ibid., p. 5, citing a paper by J. N. Wallace, "Early Exploration on the Bow and Saskatchewan Rivers," n.d.

<sup>31</sup>Ibid., p. 6.

<sup>32</sup>Hugh Dempsey, "Thompson's Journey to the Bow River," Alberta Historical Review, Vol. 13, No. 2, Spring 1965, pp. 7-15.

<sup>33</sup>Grant MacEwen, Calgary Cavalcade. From Fort to Fortune (Edmonton: Institute of Applied Art, 1958), pp. 10-11.

<sup>34</sup>Gibbon, op. cit., p. 110.







near Banff for about six years between 1842 and 1848,<sup>35</sup> and he was succeeded by his brother-in-law, Rev. Thomas Woolsey, who remained until 1853.<sup>36</sup> The well known Oblate missionary, Father Lacombe, visited the Blackfeet periodically from 1857 and won their respect and confidence.<sup>37</sup> Equally well known and just as successful in establishing a firm, friendly Christian relationship with the Indians were the McDougalls, George and his son, John, who set up a mission at Morley for the Stoney Indians in 1872.<sup>38</sup>

Missionaries and fur traders seem to have been acceptable to the Blackfeet but, in 1870, when the Hudson's Bay Company relinquished its control of the territory in the North West, fur traders from the United States were emboldened to trespass on the plains of southern Alberta. The American traders offered only whisky in exchange for the furs that the Indians brought to sell, and within a short time, the once fiercely proud Blackfeet had become impoverished through pestilence, internal quarreling and hunger.<sup>39</sup> An era of lawlessness began where guns quickly solved quarrels, and ruthless trading replaced the fairer tactics of the

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<sup>35</sup>Bussard, op. cit., p. 13.      <sup>36</sup>Ibid., p. 14.

<sup>37</sup>Katherine Hughes, Father Lacombe. The Black Robe Voyageur (Toronto: Briggs, 1914), pp. 68-69.

<sup>38</sup>J. E. Nix, Mission Among the Buffalo (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1960), p. 88.

<sup>39</sup>Letter, Father Scollen to A. Morris, Lt.-Governor of Manitoba, September 8, 1876 cited by A. Morris, The Treaties of Canada with the Indians of Manitoba, the North West Territories and Kee-wa-tin (Toronto: Willing and Williamson, 1880), p. 248.



Hudson's Bay Company.

To meet this contingency and to prevent further infiltration of American whisky traders into the North West Territories, the North West Mounted Police force was formed in 1873, and marched west in 1874.<sup>40</sup> The first fort was established at Fort Macleod in the same year,<sup>41</sup> and one year later a fort was established at the confluence of the Bow and Elbow rivers. This was later known as Fort Calgary.

Inspector Brisebois and 'F' troop had been sent north from Fort Macleod for two reasons. One was to provide an escort for Major-General Selby-Smith, the Commander of the Canadian Militia, who was touring the West. The other was to set up a fort on the Bow River to block the route of some American whisky traders who were evading the police at Fort Macleod by using the valley of the Bow River.<sup>42</sup> The first task having been accomplished, Inspector Brisebois and his men made camp at a place pointed out to them by the Commissioner of the Police, Colonel Macleod. The place was a small flat just above the Bow River where it is joined by the Elbow, on the west side of the river. The place impressed everybody at once with its natural beauty, its ample supply of wood, its clear swift running water and its quantity of fish in the river. The I.G. Baker Company was contracted to supply wood in order to build a fort<sup>43</sup>--a task which was completed in about two months. The few white

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<sup>40</sup>Turner, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 127.

<sup>41</sup>Ibid., p. 167.      <sup>42</sup>Ibid., p. 241.

<sup>43</sup>C.E. Denny, The Riders of the Plains (Calgary: Herald Publishing Co. Ltd., 1905), p. 81.



people who had ventured into the area before the police came down to the fort to make themselves known. Father Doucet, a Roman Catholic missionary had been found by the police on the day they arrived.<sup>44</sup> The Rev. John McDougall from Morleyville came down to preach on alternate Sundays, and two earlier settlers from the Fish Creek area nine miles south of Calgary--Sam Livingstone and John Glenn--came by in search of work. The I.G. Baker Company built a store next to the fort, and two cabins were also erected for the manager, Mr. D. W. Davis, and the clerk, Mr. Kingshorn, who was an ex-police sergeant. The Hudson's Bay Company moved in from the Ghost River, forty miles up the Bow. An enterprising whisky trader brought in a billiards table and built a hall which served both the billiards players and those who wanted to hold dances.<sup>45</sup> At first the place had no name, but on February 29, 1876, assistant commissioner A.G. Irvine brought to the attention of the Minister of Justice at Ottawa the fact that Inspector Brisebois had, without permission, decided to name the fort after himself. Inspector Brisebois' order was rescinded by Irvine who wrote to the Minister,

Colonel Macleod has suggested the name Calgary which I believe in Scotch means "clear, running water," a very appropriate name, I think. Should the Minister be pleased to approve of this name, I will issue an order to that effect.<sup>46</sup>

So it was that in April 1876, Calgary got its name.

The cluster of buildings around the fort began to shape itself

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<sup>44</sup> Ibid., p. 80.      <sup>45</sup> Ibid., p. 105.

<sup>46</sup> MacEwen, op. cit., p. 20.







into a community. Policemen whose terms of duty had expired took out leases, brought in cattle and became ranchers. Except for a few unrelated events, Calgary remained for the next six years an isolated military post. The police were mainly concerned with capturing horse thieves, chasing whisky traders, and keeping peace between the Cree, Blackfeet and Sarcee. In 1877 the Blackfeet Treaty No. 7 was signed and this made available to the government a considerable amount of open land. In 1878 Professor Macoun, the University of Toronto botanist, visited Calgary and was impressed with the great possibilities he saw for agriculture in the region after visiting the farms of Glenn and Livingstone. The following year the so-called Sarcee war occurred. The Indians came to the fort to demand food but finding none available, remained camped outside the fort and refused to move. Inspector Denny offered rations of beef if the Indians would go to Fort Macleod to collect them. However, the Indians refused and for three days a tense situation prevailed. At the end of this time Inspector Denny decided to load all of the Indians' chattels onto carts and to ship them to Fort Macleod. Seeing no alternative, Chief Bullhead and his Sarcee warriors agreed to move south.

In 1882 there was excitement in the settlement over possible silver finds in the mountains near Banff, and for a whole year settlers left their ranches to take up mining.<sup>49</sup>

Throughout this time Calgary was kept supplied by bull trains

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<sup>49</sup>Bussard, op. cit., 42.



coming from Fort Benton on the Missouri via Fort Macleod. In 1881 when it was announced that Calgary would be on the main line of the Canadian Pacific Railway it was realized that the days of the bull train were numbered and that southern Alberta would no longer be an appendage of Montana.

#### THE GROWTH OF CALGARY 1883-1890

In the six months from June 1883 to December 1883 Calgary grew rapidly. The arrival of the railway and telegraph on August 12 was the most significant event<sup>50</sup> as Calgary became readily accessible to visitors and settlers alike, while a spate of businesses were established to serve the needs of the community. Three weeks later the first issue of the Calgary Herald, Mining and Ranch Advocate and General Advertiser was published and was able to pronounce Calgary's arrival to the world and to begin its chronicle of the growth of Calgary.

The following year, 1884, was a year of great growth. The year opened with a quarrel between the railway company, which had decided that the townsite should be located on Section 15, and the squatters, who had settled land already on the Denny estate--Section 14. A Civic Committee was formed under the chairmanship of Major Walker and six other elected members to press for the incorporation of the town and for a definite statement of the town boundaries. By April, however, thirteen businesses, including Bannerman's post office, had already located along

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<sup>50</sup> Ibid., p. 53.



Stephen Avenue in Section 15. It was not until November, however, that the town was officially incorporated and the boundaries of Sections 14, 15 and 16 became the boundaries of the town.<sup>51</sup> This necessitated the first civic election in Calgary as a result of which George Murdoch became the first mayor. Other events in the year included the opening of the first school, which was supported by private subscription; the formation of the Calgary and District Agricultural Society, and the first census which numbered the population at 428.<sup>52</sup> According to Bussard, businesses were flourishing, new churches were being built and by the end of the year the population was in excess of 1,000.<sup>53</sup> The Calgary Herald in its last issue of the year wrote

Calgary is but in its infancy, only laying aside its swaddling clothes. The growth of the past year is full of encouragement. If taken hold of with a true spirit, the development of the future will amply repay the devotion and energy expended on all the public interests of the town.<sup>54</sup>

The following year on March 12 the Calgary Protestant School District No. 19 was set up with government support to replace the previous privately supported school<sup>55</sup> but it was six days later that Calgary found itself in unexpected turmoil. On March 18, news of the Riel Rebellion reached the town.<sup>56</sup> Fifty-five policemen were sent from

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<sup>51</sup>Ibid., p. 83.      <sup>52</sup>Ibid., p. 72.      <sup>53</sup>Ibid., p. 85.

<sup>54</sup>Calgary Herald, December 23, 1884.

<sup>55</sup>Phyllis E. Weston, "A History of Education in Calgary" (unpublished Master's thesis, University of Alberta, Edmonton, 1951), p. 4.

<sup>56</sup>Ibid., p. 90.







Calgary to Regina leaving Calgary relatively undefended. A local home guard was formed by George Murdoch and Colonel Walker to patrol the streets and to keep alert for possible attack from the neighboring Blackfeet. General Strange, a retired British soldier, who was now manager of the Military Colonization Company at Gliechen, offered to form a volunteer corps and to take command. In April, orders were received from General Middleton, Commander-in-Chief, which put Strange in command of all the troops in Calgary, Edmonton, and Macleod.<sup>57</sup> Father Lacombe meantime had visited the Blackfoot Crossing to persuade Crowfoot and the Blackfeet to remain loyal and not to leave their reservation.<sup>58</sup> It soon became apparent that Edmonton was in more danger than Calgary, and Strange prepared an expedition to move up to the Saskatchewan River. On April 15 the 65th Regiment arrived on the C.P.R. from Montreal and three days later the 9th Regiment with a battalion of French-Canadian troops from Winnipeg arrived.<sup>59</sup> On April 20 General Strange set out for Edmonton with four companies of the 65th Regiment and a column of Steele's Scouts on his right. On the whole, however, the campaign was disappointing as the group, the Alberta Field Force, met the Indians only once, at Frenchman Butte, and the action was indecisive. By July the rebellion was over and the force was ready to return to Calgary.<sup>60</sup>

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<sup>57</sup> Ibid., p. 93.

<sup>58</sup> Ibid., p. 94.

<sup>59</sup> Ibid., p. 96.

<sup>60</sup> Ibid., pp. 98-9.



Between 1885 and 1890 the town continued to grow steadily though not spectacularly. In 1886 the school had been expanded to four classrooms and a principal was hired.<sup>61</sup> Three years later a high school department was added.<sup>62</sup> The churches continued to be active with new buildings being erected almost annually. In 1888 the Methodists claimed the largest building having spent three thousand two hundred dollars on a new church.<sup>63</sup>

With the establishment of basic community services in the town, the interests of the people became more diversified. The Calgary Fair, a forerunner of the present Stampede, was initiated in 1886,<sup>64</sup> and apart from the ever-popular horseracing, baseball, lacrosse, hockey and soccer, each in its season, was a popular activity for the athletically inclined. Other portents of the future included an electricity service, installed by the Electric Light Company and taken over by the Calgary Power Company in 1890;<sup>65</sup> and a private telephone network, set up by James Walker and subsequently taken over by the Bell Telephone Company in 1889, when there were 45 subscribers on the line.<sup>66</sup>

Calgary grew because it was an important distribution centre. Geographically its site in a broad valley at the confluence of two rivers was almost ideal and was enhanced by a natural beauty of its own. The location of the railway line through the area allowed the town to

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<sup>61</sup> Weston, op. cit., p. 7.      <sup>62</sup> Ibid., p. 9.

<sup>63</sup> Bussard, op. cit., p. 108.      <sup>64</sup> Ibid., p. 113.

<sup>65</sup> Ibid., p. 120.      <sup>66</sup> Ibid., p. 121.



become the central supplier of places north, south and west of the town. Macleod and Lethbridge abandoned Fort Benton as a source of supply, and merchants in Edmonton found it quicker to use the Calgary-Edmonton trail, rather than the Old Carlton Trail along the North Saskatchewan River.

It was realized that development of the town depended to a large extent on populating the surrounding countryside. Both the government and the Canadian Pacific Railway Company undertook extensive land promotional campaigns to attract settlers from Eastern Canada and Europe. The early dependence of the region on ranching became apparent when the economic uncertainty of relying on one product was revealed by the severe winter of 1886-87.<sup>67</sup> Both the government and the company were interested mainly in farmers. The first settlers, Livingstone and Glenn, had actually been farmers, and many of the later settlers took up farming too, but the occupation seems to have been less attractive (and less profitable) than ranching. Even as late as 1914 the C.P.R. was still offering farm land (now irrigated) for sale in the Calgary area. The town's fortune and well-being were closely tied to the success of nearby farming and ranching operations, but despite a few setbacks, the area continued to develop and in 1890 the town's population was in excess of 5,000.

Calgary benefited indirectly in other ways. Its proximity to the recently discovered (1885) hot springs at Banff gave the town a good portion of the tourist trade that was attracted to the mountains. As

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<sup>67</sup>MacEwen, op. cit., pp. 77-81.







the largest centre of population between Winnipeg and Vancouver, it became a natural stop-over place for travellers who wanted to break their journey. This central position on the line gave Calgary merchants the advantage of trading either with Winnipeg or Vancouver, while the railway company also recognized the advantage of this central location by building its repair workshops at Cepeear (now Ogden) and thus establishing the first major industry in the town.

The aura of growth and optimism infected the inhabitants who lost no opportunity--judging by the number and variety of promotional pamphlets--to tell the world of their good fortune. It was on this note that Calgarians entered the last decade of the nineteenth century--a decade in which the population would quadruple.

The relationship between the town and the railway in the first decade of the existence of each was one of mutual dependence. The conversion of Calgary from an isolated police post to a bustling commercial centre was a result of the railway's construction. As a distribution centre for the rest of Alberta, Calgary depended on a good supply and transportation system such as only the railway could provide. More important still the railway itself had distinct responsibilities to stimulate freight and passenger traffic and to colonize the country in its own interests, and these interests, not unnaturally, coincided with those of Calgary. However, it would be wrong to assume that the relationship was always a happy and smooth one. Merchants often complained of the delay by the railway in shipping goods. The company's monopoly of the supply situation was not only alien to the free enterprise spirit of



the frontiersmen, but brought frequent charges of discrimination, especially by farmers. Finally the company's control of much of the best land in the area tended to delay settlement because of the land sales policy of the company. Hedges believes that in the long run this policy was justified inasmuch as the settlers on railway lands tended to be more successful than the homesteader,<sup>68</sup> but the land hungry newcomer frequently viewed the practice as a discriminatory and profiteering technique.

#### CONCLUDING STATEMENT

The preceding account is intended to form a contextual framework for the historical documents that follow, and a summary of the significant conclusions of historians about the topic under consideration. The section on the "Early Days of the Canadian Pacific Railway, 1872 to 1880," provides an introduction to the construction of the railway and a basis for examining the conclusions that historians have reached about the construction. The section on the construction elaborates on the human, mechanical and financial problems of the company during the construction era, 1881 to 1885, and provides a basis for the documents employed in Set B. The third and fourth sections relate to settlement in the Calgary area up to 1890. The information in the third section on life in the Calgary area up to the arrival of the railway is the

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<sup>68</sup>J.B. Hedges, Building the Canadian West (Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1939), p. 121.



contextual framework for the documents on the pre-construction era in the West in Set A. The effect of the railway's arrival at Calgary is noted in the final section, and certain documents have been selected and are found in Set C. to highlight several important aspects of the growth of the Calgary community up to 1890. The arrangement of the selected documents in subsequent chapters is chronological, for the most part, with the documents on the pre-construction era in what is now southern Alberta (Set A) preceding those on the construction of the railway (Set B) and on the early growth of Calgary (Set C).

Historians who have studied the same area and period have reached a consensus of opinion about a number of significant aspects of the building of the Canadian Pacific Railway and the early growth of Calgary. A summary of the significant conclusions of historians and other writers on the same topic is given in generalized form below.

1. The building of the C.P.R. from Atlantic to Pacific symbolized the national unity of the provinces and territories in the Dominion of Canada.
2. Construction of the C.P.R. represented a vital step in the development of a national economy based on Canadian industries, products and markets.
3. The C.P.R. was an important link in the network of imperial communications stretching from England across Canada to the Orient and Australasia.
4. The construction of the C.P.R. was a necessary preliminary to the agricultural settlement by white races of the prairie lands formerly







dominated by the Indians.

5. The improved transportation facilities provided by the C.P.R. enabled the government to protect the country from attack or rebellion more efficiently than hitherto.
6. The line from Callander, Ontario, to Port Moody, B.C. was built at a rate that surpassed the expectations of the early planners.
7. The rapidity of the construction phase was chiefly due to the efforts and administration of William Van Horne.
8. The urgency of the construction and the decision to re-route the line across the southern prairie and through the Kicking Horse Pass induced hasty and incomplete planning of the whole line, and in consequence a number of unforeseen engineering difficulties arose.
9. Throughout the construction phase the C.P.R. was troubled by human, engineering, financial and political problems.
10. Prior to the construction of the C.P.R., the area around Calgary was almost void of permanent white settlement.
11. The presence of the North West Mounted Police in the Territories prior to the construction of the railway and the incoming of settlers, greatly facilitated the peaceful interaction of the white men with the indigenous population.
12. Prior to the arrival of the C.P.R. at Calgary, that community depended for its supplies on the American trading centre, Fort Benton on the Missouri River and on bull-, mule- or horse-drawn transportation.
13. Following the arrival of the railway at Calgary, that place replaced



Fort Benton as the commercial and distribution centre for Alberta.

14. Just prior to, and for a number of years after the arrival of the railway at Calgary, that place was the destination of many settlers interested in farming or in business.
15. In the years immediately following the arrival of the railway, the fairly rapid increases in the population of Calgary necessitated the institution and provision of many commercial, governmental and educational services in the area.
16. A necessary preliminary to settlement of the West was a comprehensive and accurate survey of the region. The rapid construction of the railway hastened the conducting of the survey.
17. Following the completion of the C.P.R., both the Government and the Company earnestly and energetically assumed their responsibilities for settling newcomers on the land as farmers.

This list of historians' conclusions is not exhaustive because in a number of instances historians have also reached particular conclusions about particular events or ideas. Such conclusions are noted in the assessment of the historical significance of particular documents but are only incidental to the main purpose of this study, which is to examine the documents in the light of the more significant conclusions reached by historians.



## CHAPTER IV

### PROCEDURES FOR THE ASSESSMENT OF DOCUMENTS

In order to select and analyse the documents used in this study, four criteria were established. The first two criteria provided the bases for the selection of documents, and the other two criteria were applied in the analysis of the documents selected. The criteria were, in order of application,

Selection validation criteria:

1. Relevance to the sequence of the social studies curriculum of the Province of Alberta.
2. Suitability for students in the intermediate grades.

Evaluative criteria:

3. Relevance to the scope of the social studies curriculum of the Province of Alberta.
4. Historical significance.

Assessment of the documents in terms of each criteria was made by reference to a qualified authority in each of the areas under consideration. Identification of the qualified authorities is made later in this chapter.

The treatment of the documents followed three stages:

1. Initial selection of documents.
2. Validation of selection by the application of the selection criteria.
3. Analysis of the documents selected by the application of the evaluative criteria.





## INITIAL SELECTION OF DOCUMENTS

A preliminary study of the topic under consideration by the investigator from published histories revealed four major historical considerations relative to the topic. These considerations were

- A. Conditions in the Calgary area prior to the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway in the 1880's.
- B. The methods and problems of constructing the Canadian Pacific Railway across the prairies and into the mountains of Alberta, and the people involved.
- C. The methods and problems of operating the Canadian Pacific Railway immediately after its construction.
- D. The effect of the Canadian Pacific Railway on the growth of Calgary up to 1890.

For the initial collecting of documents the four considerations provided historical guidelines. Documents relating to each historical consideration were grouped together by the investigator, and each grouping of documents was called a set, lettered in the same way as the historical considerations above. Initially the documents used in this study were selected by the investigator on the basis of their relevance to the historical considerations mentioned above, and in the light of a preliminary assessment, based on the investigator's own experience as a social studies teacher, of their pedagogic utility.

Following an intensive search through the relevant resources in the Glenbow Foundation Library and Archives in Calgary, and in the



Cameron Library in Edmonton, over fifty documents were collected by, or made available to the investigator in the initial selection period. When the original of a document was known to be in the possession of the Public Archives of Canada, or the Archives and Library of the Canadian Pacific Railway in Montreal, letters, requesting a photostat of the original, were despatched to these institutions. The resources of the Legislative Library in Edmonton, and of the Mapping Division of the Department of Highways for the Province of Alberta were also consulted.

Not all the documents originally located, or made available to the investigator were used as it was noticed by the investigator that some documents duplicated the information provided by others. Others were interesting but not historically significant in the investigator's opinion, and the reliability of the source of some documents could not be substantiated by the investigator. These documents were rejected.

The documents were retained in their four sets, A.B. C and D, and were next examined in terms of the selection validation criteria.

#### SELECTION VALIDATION CRITERIA

The initial selection of documents was validated by the application of two selection criteria.

1. Relevance to the curriculum sequence.
2. Suitability for students in the intermediate grades.

Documents which failed to meet the requirements of both criteria were rejected.



### Relevance to the Alberta Curriculum Sequence

For the purposes of this study the curriculum sequence was identified as the series of topics prescribed or suggested by the current Alberta curriculum guides for social studies in the intermediate grades.<sup>1</sup> Reference by the investigator to the appropriate social studies curriculum guides served as confirmation of the relevance of particular documents to the topics relating to local history in the sequence of the curriculum. Documents which were found to be not applicable to local history topics in the Alberta social studies curriculum were to be rejected. However, it was found that documents, initially selected in accordance with the four major historical considerations previously mentioned, were all applicable to the sequence of the Alberta social studies curriculum for the intermediate grades.

Furthermore it was apparent that all the documents in each set could be employed in the study of the same topics listed within the sequence of the Alberta social studies curriculum. To avoid needless repetition of the same information, the investigator decided to report the assessment of the documents for each set collectively. These assessments are reported in the introductions to Chapters V, VI and VII.

### Suitability for Students in the Intermediate Grades

One of the concerns of this study was to select historical

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<sup>1</sup>Province of Alberta, Elementary Curriculum Guide for Social Studies-Enterprise (Interim) (Edmonton: Department of Education, 1964), p. 9; and Province of Alberta, Junior High School Curriculum Guide for Social Studies-Language (Edmonton: Department of Education, 1963), p. 11.





documents which were suitable for use in schools. It has been noted in Chapter II that some published source books and collections of documents have been criticized by educators because many of the sources were considered inadequate, either on account of their length or relevance to the topic, by history teachers. To avoid these limitations as much as possible, the documents used in this study were submitted to a panel of five experienced teachers for their personal assessment of the suitability of the documents for students in the intermediate grades.

The panel consisted of four male teachers and one female teacher, each of whom presently (1965) teaches in Grades IV to VIII. All the teachers had Bachelor of Education degrees and each reported taking at least one university history course. The teaching experience of the panel ranged from a minimum of four years to a maximum of thirteen years. The range of teaching experience of the panel extended from Grade III to Grade XII, and each of the teachers had taught in the intermediate grades during the past three years. Each teacher presently (1965) teaches in a different school at widely scattered points in the City of Edmonton, and two of the teachers reported that they had teaching experience in other countries, one in England, the other in Nigeria. It was assumed that, on the basis of their experience as teachers in the intermediate grades, the panel members were qualified judges of what documents would be suitable resource materials for students of social studies in the intermediate grades.

The panel convened for the assessment of the documents on the morning of May 31, 1965. The investigator explained the purpose of the



study to the panel. During the assessment the teachers were asked not to consult with each other, as individual expressions of opinion were required. The investigator, however, remained to answer any of the panel's questions. Each teacher was given a set of documents, distributed randomly, and was asked to read each document, and to answer the following question on the card provided.

In the light of your experience could this document be used as resource materials in a social studies class you might be conducting in Grades IV to VIII?

With such a small sample of opinion to work with, it was necessary, in the investigator's view, that there be a general consensus of panel members' opinions on the suitability of the documents. Therefore, the investigator decided that only those documents which were not found to be unsuitable as social studies resource materials for students in the intermediate grades by at least four of the five panel members would be acceptable to this study. Documents failing to satisfy this criteria would be rejected. The assessment by panel members of the suitability of particular documents within a certain set is reported in the introduction of the subsequent chapter, in which that set is discussed.

It should be pointed out that as a result of the application of the suitability criterion, the documents were re-grouped into three sets. Set A remained unchanged. Sets B and C were combined and re-designated Set B, and Set D became Set C. More complete explanation of the re-grouping is found in the assessment of the suitability criterion in the subsequent chapters, VI and VII, relating to the sets which were



re-grouped.

## EVALUATIVE CRITERIA

The documents retained following the application of the selection validation criteria were evaluated in terms of their relevance to the scope of the Alberta curriculum and of their historical significance.

### Relevance to the Scope of the Curriculum

An analysis of each document selected was conducted by the investigator to determine the extent that the content of the document related to areas of basic human need as itemized in the statement on the scope in the social studies curriculum guides for Alberta elementary and junior high schools. As social studies involves other social sciences as well as history, this analysis, although basically concerned with historical content, extracted information from the documents on areas pertinent to such social sciences as economics, sociology, anthropology, and political science.

According to the Elementary Curriculum Guide for Social Studies-Enterprise (Interim) 1964 of the Alberta Department of Education, the scope of the topics selected for study should be:

Problems arising from universal human needs which serve to guide the development of any topic:

1. Getting and preparing food.
2. Providing shelter.
3. Providing clothing.
4. Transporting and communicating.
5. Guarding health, welfare and safety.
6. Governing and protecting.
7. Observing and conserving nature.
8. Educating adult duties and jobs.





9. Enjoying recreation, play and leisure.
10. Expressing ideals through religion and the arts.<sup>2</sup>

The Junior High School Curriculum Guide for Social Studies-Language (1963 edition) states,

. . . The scope and sequence pattern appears first in the Enterprise for the elementary school. It continues as the framework for the Social Studies program throughout the junior and senior high school guides.<sup>3</sup>

From this statement it is apparent that the same ten areas of human endeavour, mentioned above, are equally applicable to the content of junior high school topics, although different terminology is used. The terms used in the Junior High School Curriculum Guide for Social Studies-Language (1963 edition) are

Production and distribution of goods.  
 Transportation and communication.  
 Institutions and social organizations.  
 Ideals and individual development.  
 Cultural development.

In Unit IV, however, of the Grade VII program the ten recommended topics of study on the local community are identical with the ten problem areas itemized in the statement of the scope of the curriculum for the elementary school social studies program.<sup>4</sup>

The analysis was conducted by the investigator by referring the content of particular documents to the list of basic human needs itemized in the statement of scope in the curriculum guides. References to particular areas of human need found in a particular document are

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<sup>2</sup>Province of Alberta (1964), op. cit., p. 8.

<sup>3</sup>Province of Alberta (1963), op.cit., p. 8.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., p. 118.



reported in the assessment of that document given in Chapters V, VI or VII. To facilitate identification, the number of each aspect of the scope, as given on page 8 for the elementary school social studies curriculum, is used as a referent in the reported assessments. The greater specificity of the statement of the scope of the curriculum in the elementary school social studies curriculum guide rendered it preferable to the equivalent statement in the junior high school social studies curriculum guide.

As the extent to which particular documents contained reference to areas of universal human needs varied, the assessment of the relevance of each document to the scope of the curriculum is reported separately for each document.

### Historical Significance

For the purposes of this study, the historical significance of a document has been defined<sup>5</sup> operationally, as the provision of evidence within the document, or the representativeness of the document of the themes or conclusions that the academic historian considers important for the proper understanding of the topic under investigation. In order to assess the historical significance of particular documents the investigator consulted the works of historians of the same area and period, and confirmed his interpretation of the conclusions of other historians by reference to two persons, qualified academically in this area of study. Two persons, one with a Doctor of Philosophy degree, the

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<sup>5</sup>Chapter I, pp. 10-11.



other with a Master of Arts degree, both in Western Canadian history, were found willing to assist as judges of the investigator's assessments of particular documents' historical significance.

The steps followed in applying the criterion of historical significance were:

1. Survey of the writings of historians on the same topic, and a listing of the significant conclusions reached by historians on that topic, as given in the summary of Chapter III.
2. Identification of the elements within each document which provided evidence for, or which showed that the document was representative of, the conclusions reached by historians.
3. Submission of a statement of the identified elements and the reasons for their historical significance, together with the relevant documents, to the two academic judges. These submissions were made separately to each judge.
4. Consultation with the judges regarding modifications and revisions suggested by the judges.
5. Final assessment, incorporating suggested modifications and revisions, of the historical significance by the investigator.

Reports of the assessments of the historical significance of the selected documents are given in the subsequent chapters V, VI, and VII, in the section on historical significance following each document.





## CONCLUDING STATEMENT

Reports on the assessments of the selected documents in terms of the established criteria are given in the three chapters that follow. Each set of documents has been allocated a separate chapter for the purpose of reporting the assessments.

The two selection criteria are reported collectively in the introduction to each chapter to avoid the needless repetition of the same information. Assessments of the relevance to the scope of the curriculum and of the historical significance of each document are reported separately as there is considerable variation in the extent to which each document satisfies these criteria.

In addition each document in the subsequent chapters has been introduced by a brief statement of identification, fitting the document into its historical context, providing a few brief notes on the author, and commenting on the historical soundness of the document.



## CHAPTER V

### ASSESSMENT OF SET A

#### DOCUMENTS RELATED TO THE PRE-CONSTRUCTION PERIOD

1875 - 1883

The four documents included in this set have been selected to provide information about the state of the country before the construction of the railway and the ensuing rush of settlers. Each document represents a significant feature or event of the pre-construction, pre-settlement era in Alberta. In the interests of economy of space only those documents which relate to the decade prior to the construction of the railway in the 1880's, have been included. The documents are:

1. The Founding of Calgary, 1875, by Inspector Cecil E. Denny, N.W.M.P.
2. The Negotiations for the Blackfeet Treaty, 1877, by Alexander Morris, former Lieutenant-Governor of Manitoba, N.W.T. and Keewatin.
3. Pre-Railway Transportation, by Rev. James Macgregor.
4. The Map and Surveyor's Report of the first Township survey of Calgary, 1883, by Charles LaRue, Dominion Lands Surveyor.

Other documents connected with this era but not assessed in this chapter are listed in Appendix A. These documents, particularly the photograph of the fort in 1876 and Macgregor's description of the survey could be useful supplements to the documents selected.

The account that follows is designed to assess the various documents in terms of the established criteria.



### Relevance to the Alberta Curriculum Sequence

From an examination of the province of Alberta curriculum guides for Social Studies-Enterprise in the elementary school, and for Social Studies-Language in the junior high school, it is apparent that all the documents in Set A can be studied in connection with the following topics.

- (a) The Child's Community (for Calgary students mainly) - Grade IV.<sup>1</sup>
- (b) Pioneer Life in the West - Grade IV.<sup>2</sup>
- (c) Alberta at Work - historical introduction - Grade V.<sup>3</sup>
- (4) The Opening of the West - in the Unit on "Successive Waves of Early Settlers and the Foundations for a Canadian Nation and Culture" - Grade VII.<sup>4</sup>
- (e) The Settlement and Growth of Our Community (for Calgary students mainly) - Unit IV, Grade VII.<sup>5</sup>

### Suitability for Students in the Intermediate Grades

The documents in Set A were all examined by a panel of five experienced teachers, and none was found to be unsuitable for use as resource materials in social studies classes that these teachers might be conducting in Grades IV to VIII. Table I summarizes the teachers'

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<sup>1</sup>Province of Alberta, Elementary Curriculum Guide for Social Studies-Enterprise (Interim), (Edmonton: Department of Education, 1964), p.9.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid.

<sup>4</sup>Province of Alberta, Junior High School Curriculum Guide for Social Studies-Language (Edmonton: Department of Education, 1963), p. 115.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid.





assessments of the documents in Set A.

TABLE I

A SUMMARY OF THE ASSESSMENTS OF THE SUITABILITY OF THE DOCUMENTS  
IN SET A BY A PANEL OF FIVE TEACHERS

Document		Teachers					Conclusions
Number	A.	B.	C.	D.	E.		
A-1	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes		retained
A-2	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes		retained
A-3	no	yes	yes	yes	yes		retained
A-4	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes		retained

Documents A-1, A-2, and A-4 were accepted unanimously, but one teacher dissented with respect to document A-3. However, since four of the panel found it acceptable, document A-3 was retained in accordance with the previously established criteria.

#### DOCUMENT A-1

##### The Founding of Fort Calgary

#### Identification

Document A-1--the Founding of Fort Calgary, 1875--by Cecil E. Denny is used to introduce the locale and to give a time perspective to the study. Less than one hundred years ago, the site of the present city of Calgary was an open, unoccupied valley.

The selection of the site and the setting up of the fort were deliberate acts by the North West Mounted Police in an endeavour to



extend their control of the area. The police had arrived in the Fort Macleod area of southern Alberta in September 1874 and in a short time had evicted the trespassing U.S. whisky traders and had created a relatively law-abiding community. By following the valley of the Bow River, however, enterprising American whisky traders soon learned to evade the police in order to reach the Blackfeet and Stoneys in the fairly productive fur region of the foothills of the Rockies. To block this illegal supply line the Commissioner of Police deemed it necessary to set up a fort at the confluence of the Bow and Elbow Rivers.

The visit to western Canada of Major General Selby Smythe, Commander of the Canadian Militia, provided the police force with an occasion to march north from Fort Macleod to escort the general on his journey from Edmonton. The general was met by Colonel Macleod's men at Red Deer, and after a ceremonial inspection, the force returned south. On reaching the Bow River, 'F' force under Inspector Brisebois detached itself from the general's escort and undertook the task of establishing a fort. The second-in-command of 'F' force, Captain Cecil E. Denny, was the author of this document.

Denny was a young man at the time of this incident. Born in Ireland in 1850, and educated in England, France and Germany, he joined the North West Mounted Police in 1874.<sup>6</sup> He resigned from the force in 1880, took up ranching in the Calgary region, and later became an officer in the Department of Indian Affairs. His book, The Riders of

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<sup>6</sup>Encyclopedia Canadiana, (Ottawa: Grolier Society of Canada, 1958) Volume 3, p. 253.



the Plains, from which this extract is taken was not published until 1905. In his later years Denny was the provincial archivist of Alberta until his death in 1928.

As his book was published thirty years after the building of the fort, there may be reason to query the accuracy of his description. It would appear from the precision of the style, however, that reference may have been made to official reports or to a diary. There seems to be no reason to doubt the veracity of the account, but the reliability of the author's sources has not been established.

### The Founding of Fort Calgary

We crossed the Bow in the wagon boxes without accident, and chose a site for a fort not far from the mouth of the Elbow as it was generally known the river was well wooded not far up from the point at which we had crossed that river in going north. It was intended to locate and build a fort on the south side of the Bow river, near the mouth of the Elbow, where Calgary now stands. Baker and company had already contracted to send men and bull teams up to that point to meet us, and to construct a stockade and picket fort, the timber to be got out at the nearest point available, it being from the mouth.

Our troop journeyed south to the Bow river by easy stages having lots of hunting on the road and crossed the Bow a little above the mouth of the Elbow river, which at the mouth runs between two beautiful wooded river bottoms, each several miles long and wide, gradually sloping upwards to the open prairie.

We went through an inspection parade here, which was considered satisfactory, and the party divided. General Smythe and escort, with Colonel Macleod, following our old trail back to Fort Macleod and F troop, with Captain Brisbois and myself, taking another road farther west, and proceeding to a point on the Bow river just above the mouth of the Elbow, on the west side, on a point of rising ground, a most beautiful spot with a grand view of the mountains some fifty miles to the west, and at this time covered with snow. There was no one living there within miles of the spot, the only habitation being a small Hudson's Bay company's trading post on Ghost river some twenty-five miles up the Bow and a small Methodist mission some six miles above the Hudson's Bay post, for the Stoney Indians, with Rev. George McDougall in charge. His son kept also a







trading post at the Mission, making a good thing out of those Indians in the fur trade. They did most of their hunting in the mountains and went far north in the winter after fine fur, which was very valuable and which was mostly purchased at this point.

The market for the fur was Winnipeg, and McDougall and other traders started out over the plains every year or so, with a long string of Red river carts with oxen and horses, loaded with robes and fine fur, and after several months journey across the plains, returned in the fall with their loads of trading goods and provisions for the winter.

. . . . .  
We went to work near the site picked out for the fort to make ourselves comfortable, by digging trenches in the ground and covering them with brush and earth, with a fire place inside; some of these huts held six and eight men; and with plenty of wood we had no trouble to keep warm. The nights were getting pretty cold, it being September when we arrived at the Bow river.

After we had settled in the camp a few days we were visited by a Catholic priest who had been living for some months in a log hut some thirty miles up the Elbow river. He had seen no one for three months except a young Indian boy he had living with him, and was half starved, not having had any substantial food for a long time. It did us good to get a square meal into him and watch the gusto with which he ate it. He had only been a few months in the country from France, and had been sent south to learn the Blackfeet language, among which Indians he was to remain as a missionary. Father Ducet was not long in acquiring the language, and in a few years was a useful missionary among the plain Indians.

We were visited by Mr. McDougall of Morleyville, who held service at our camp every other Sunday. A few camps of Indians now and then came in to visit us. All were very friendly and well off for food and clothing with large bands of horses in their camps. We found an old Indian death lodge standing on the bank of the river containing the bones of some three or four Indians who had been killed the previous summer in a fight with some whisky traders from the south. Their remains were scattered about the tent and outside, having been eaten and dragged out by wolves. It was the habit of the Indians in those days when buffalo skin tents were plentiful and only used for one year, to leave their dead in lodges, covered with robes, blankets or other articles supposed to be of use to them after death, when they went to the Sand hills. The Indians supposed that their people after death went to the great Sand hills on the South Saskatchewan river and there hunted mice instead of buffalo. I have often had Indians stop in the Sand hills near the Blackfoot crossing, gravely show me the track of mice in the sand, and assure me that some of their dead friends were hunting them. A few years before we came to the country the Indians were in the habit of



killing a horse or two when any chief or Indians died, so that they should have their riding animals with them in the Sand hills.

. . . . .  
I.G. Baker's men arrived a few days after we went into camp and proceeded up the river to cut dry pine logs, fourteen feet long to build the fort. They found all the timber they required about six miles up the Elbow from the mouth, and building a boom, a little above the mouth, soon had all the logs they required driven down the river.

Mr. Davis had been engaged and placed in charge of the party and it did not take them long to put up a picket fort to accommodate fifty men and stables for about the same number of horses. The buildings were covered in with earth and between the logs, closed with clay, all being surrounded with a log stockade about ten feet high and the buildings facing inwards round a good-sized square. Lumber for doors and flooring was cut with a whip saw, by half breeds, many of whom had camped in the vicinity.

Our buildings were ready for occupation before Christmas and good fire places had been built in most of the rooms out of good building stone found on the rivers. Firewood was plentiful and a party of men went up the river, and drove enough of it down to last all the winter. Baker's men had also built a good substantial store and a couple of dwelling houses, and it was not long before they had it stocked with a good assortment of all kinds of trading goods with Mr. Davis in charge and an ex-police sergeant as clerk.

A billiard table was also put in by an enterprising ex-whiskey trader and cider made from raisins sold at 25 cts per glass. This establishment coined money for some years and I.G. Baker's store made a fortune with their white and Indian trade. In 1876 as many as 15,000 buffalo robes were shipped south by this store alone, costing them in trade about fifty cents each and fetching in Benton from five to ten dollars according to the quality.

The Hudson's Bay Co. moved down one of the buildings from Ghost River, and adding to it, soon had up a good trading store and dwelling house, and did a fair share of the trade for some years.

Contracts were given for hay, which was cut as late as October, and although not of the best quality, answered the purpose well. The grass in that section and all over the plains in the Northwest cures standing, with all the strength in it, thereby making the Northwest plains such a rich grazing ground both winter and summer for cattle and horses.

- - Taken from C. E. Denny, The Riders of the Plains. (Calgary: Herald Publishing Co., 1905), pp. 78-82.





### Relevance to the Scope of the Curriculum

This narrative, with its description of the initiation of a human community, brings to light a number of basic needs and the problems incurred. In terms of the scope of the elementary and junior high school curricula, it may be said that Denny's account is primarily concerned with "providing shelter" (Scope No. 2) and "governing and protecting," (Scope No. 6) as the allusions to the building and establishment of the fort indicates. It is also noted that mention is made of the prevailing modes of "transporting and communicating" (Scope No. 4)--bull teams, and Red River carts--and of the means of "enjoying recreation, play and leisure" (Scope No. 9)--billiards and cider. The whole discussion on the Indian funeral rites and the Indian concept of an after life could be used to focus the students' attention on the "expressing of ideals through religion" (Scope No. 10), as could the reference to the activities of the missionaries. The reference to hunting explains how the police sometimes obtained food on the march, but no statement is made on the provisions for "getting and providing food" (Scope No. 1) at the fort. However, the presence of the I.G. Baker store, which acted as purveyors for the police force, indicates that this basic human need had not been ignored. As a means of developing understanding of the problems and difficulties of the first inhabitants of an area, document A-1 appears to be eminently suitable.

### Historical Significance

Document A-1 presents an event of considerable significance in





both local and Western Canadian history. As the first successful attempt at permanent settlement in the area now called Calgary, the building of the North West Mounted Police fort marks the beginning of one of Canada's foremost cities. Other students of Calgary history, MacEwen<sup>7</sup> and Bussard<sup>8</sup> have also used this incident as the starting point in their accounts of the growth of Calgary.

The references in this document to the activities of missionaries, whisky traders and Blackfoot Indians which were indicative of happenings in the area prior to the arrival of the police, lend a touch of realism to an understanding of this period. Although document A-1 makes no direct reference to the influence of the Police in the area, in the more general sense it may be considered representative of the transitional stage in Western Canadian history between the free and unrestricted era of Blackfoot dominance and the later period of organized settlement by the white man. The period of Mounted Police control in the North West, especially in Alberta, acted as a cushion which prevented direct confrontation between the native inhabitants of the area and the incoming settlers. Apart from the North West Rebellion of 1885, Canadian settlers had little trouble with the Indians compared with their counterparts in the United States. J.G. Colmer<sup>9</sup> attributes the success of the North West

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<sup>7</sup>Grant MacEwen, Calgary Cavalcade (Edmonton: Institute of Applied Art, 1958), pp. 7-9.

<sup>8</sup>L.H. Bussard, "Early History of Calgary" (unpublished Master's thesis, Edmonton: University of Alberta, 1935), p. 16.

<sup>9</sup>J.G. Colmer in the Introduction to C.B. Steele's Forty Years in Canada (Toronto: McClelland, Goodchild and Stewart, 1915), p. vi.



Mounted Police to the fact that

. . . it soon became known that justice was being administered equally to the red man and the white. Herein lies the explanation of the excellent relations it has always succeeded in maintaining with the red population--which enabled the country to be opened up for settlement and cultivation with so little friction and difficulty.<sup>10</sup>

This is essentially the viewpoint of Western Canadian historians with respect to the influence of the North West Mounted Police.

In view of the capacity of this document to meet the requirements of both curriculum scope and sequence, to be considered suitable for school use and to present aspects of an event of historical significance, it has been retained in this collection.

#### DOCUMENT A-2

#### Extracts From the Reported Negotiations of the Blackfeet Treaty, 1877.

#### Identification

The Blackfeet Treaty has been included in this study because, under the terms of this treaty the land in the area bounded by the international boundary, the Cypress hills, the Rocky Mountains, the Red Deer river and the land boundaries ceded by Treaties 4 and 6, was yielded to the Crown.

This treaty--No. 7-- was the last in a series to be signed with the Indians of the plains. The Government of Canada was represented in the negotiations by the Lieutenant-Governor of the North West Territories,

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<sup>10</sup> Ibid.



the Honorable David Laird, who had been instrumental in concluding Treaty No. 6 with the Crees, and by Lieutenant-Colonel Macleod, the Commissioner of the Mounted Police force, who had the goodwill and confidence of the Indians.

Formerly one of the more aggressive tribes, the Blackfeet by 1876 had been reduced in number to about one half of their strength a decade previous by the effects of whisky on both their constitution and their disposition, by the bullets of the American whisky traders' guns and by the smallpox epidemic of 1870.<sup>11</sup>

They had, furthermore, refused to join the Sioux, at that time at war with the Americans, in an alliance against all the white people in the country.<sup>12</sup> The leaders of the Blackfeet and the neighbouring tribes, aware of the six previous treaties made by the Government of Canada with the other tribes, were anxious to begin treaty negotiations to avoid being overrun by white settlers without fair recompense. The arrival of the Lieutenant-Governor of the North West Territories at Fort Macleod in the fall of 1877 signalled the initiation of treaty negotiations. A meeting was arranged between the Lieutenant-Governor and the tribal chiefs at the Blackfoot Crossing in September 1877, and negotiations were begun.

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<sup>11</sup> Alexander Morris, The Treaties of Canada With the Indians of Manitoba and the N.W. Territories (Toronto: Belford, Clarke and Co., 1880), p. 248.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid.





Document A-2 is an edited report of the treaty negotiations, taken from Alexander Morris' The Treaties of Canada With the Indians. From 1873 to 1876, Morris had been the Lieutenant-Governor of Manitoba and the North West Territories. During his period in office a number of treaties were signed with the Indians, and Morris was personally involved in the negotiations. The Blackfeet Treaty was signed after his retirement, but it is apparent that he had access to the files of government letters and reports with respect to this treaty. On this basis the information supplied in this document may be considered authentic and credible. Furthermore the details of the actual treaty<sup>13</sup> conform closely with the details of the negotiations described in this document and should substantiate the reliability of the content.

#### Extracts from the Negotiations for the Blackfeet Treaty, 1877

CROWFOOT--"I am glad to see the Queen's Chief and Stamixotokon (Col. McLeod), who is a great Chief and our friend. I will wait and hold a council with my own children (the Blackfeet) and be ready on Wednesday to hear the Great Mother's message."

PIEGAN CHIEF--"My children (the North Piegans) have looked long for the arrival of the Great Mother's Chief; one day we did not look for him, and he passed us; we have travelled after him for fourteen nights, and now are glad to see and shake hands with the Great Chief."

BEAR'S PAW (Stony Chief)--"We have been watching for you for many moons now, and a long time has gone by since I and my children first heard of your coming. Our hearts are now glad to see the Chief of the Great Mother, and to receive flour and meat and anything you may give us. We are all of one mind, and will say what we think on Wednesday."

.....

Wednesday, September 18, 1877

. . . Nearly all of the Chiefs and minor Chiefs of the Blackfeet,

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<sup>13</sup> Ibid., pp. 368-375.



Blood, Piegan, Stony, and Sarcee tribes were seated directly in front of the Council House; and forming a semicircle of about one-third of a mile beyond the Chiefs, about four thousand men, women, and children were squatted on the grass, watching with keen interest the commencement of the proceedings.

LIEUT.-GOV. LAIRD--"The Great Spirit has made all things--the sun, the moon, and the stars, the earth, the forests, and the swift running rivers. It is by the Great Spirit that the Queen rules over this great country and other great countries. The Great Spirit has made the white man and the red man brothers, and we should take each other by the hand. The Great Mother loves all her children, white man and red man alike; she wishes to do them all good. The bad white man and the bad Indian she alone does not love, and them she punishes for their wickedness. The good Indian has nothing to fear from the Queen or her officers. You Indians know this to be true. When bad white man brought you whiskey, robbed you, and made you poor, and, through whiskey, quarrel amongst your-selves, she sent the Police to put an end to it. You know how they stopped this and punished the offenders, and how much good this has done. I have to tell you how much pleased the Queen is that you have taken the Police by the hands and helped them, and obeyed her laws since the arrival of the Police. She hopes that you will continue to do so, and you will always find the Police on your side if you keep the Queen's laws. The Great Mother heard that the buffalo were being killed very fast, and to prevent them from being destroyed her Councillors have made a law to protect them. This law is for your good. It says that the calves are not to be killed, so that they may grow up and increase; that the cows are not to be killed in winter or spring, excepting by the Indians when they are in need of them as food. This will save the buffalo, and provide you with food for many years yet, and it shows you that the Queen and her Councillors wish you well.

"Many years ago our Great Mother made a treaty with the Indians far away by the great waters in the east. A few years ago she made a treaty with those beyond the Touchwood Hills and the Woody Mountains. Last year a treaty was made with the Crees along the Saskatchewan, and now the Queen has sent Col. McLeod and myself to ask you to make a treaty. But in a very few years the buffalo will probably be all destroyed, and for this reason the Queen wishes to help you to live in the future in some other way. She wishes you to allow her white children to come and live on your land and raise cattle, and should you agree to this she will assist you to raise cattle and grain, and thus give you the means of living when the buffalo are no more. She will also pay you and your children money every year, which you can spend as you please. By being paid in money you cannot be cheated, as with it you can buy what you may think proper.

"The Queen wishes us to offer you the same as was accepted by the Crees. I do not mean exactly the same terms, but equivalent terms,





that will cost the Queen the same amount of money. Some of the other Indians wanted farming implements, but these you do not require, as your lands are more adapted to raising cattle, and cattle, perhaps, would be better for you. The Commissioners will give you your choice, whether cattle or farming implements. I have already said we will give you money, I will now tell you how much. If you sign the treaty every man, woman and child will get twelve dollars each; the money will be paid to the head of each family for himself, women and children; every year, for ever, you, your women and your children will get five dollars each. This year Chiefs and Councillors will be paid a larger sum than this; Chiefs will get a suit of clothes, a silver medal, and flag, and every third year will get another suit. A reserve of land will be set apart for yourselves and your cattle, upon which none others will be permitted to encroach; for every five persons one square mile will be allotted on this reserve on which they can cut the trees and brush for firewood and other purposes. The Queen's officers will permit no white man or Half-breed to build or cut the timber on your reserves. If required roads will be cut through them. Cattle will be given to you, and potatoes, the same as are grown at Fort McLeod. The Commissioners would strongly advise the Indians to take cattle, as you understand cattle better than you will farming for some time, at least as long as you continue to move about in lodges.

"Ammunition will be issued to you each year, and as soon as you sign the treaty one thousand five hundred dollars' worth will be distributed amongst the tribes, and as soon as you settle, teachers will be sent to you to instruct your children to read books like this one (the Governor referred to a Bible), which is impossible so long as you continue to move from place to place. I have now spoken. I have made you acquainted with the principal terms contained in the treaty which you are asked to sign.

"You may wish time to talk it over in your council lodges; you may not know what to do before you speak your thoughts in council. Go, therefore, to your councils, and I hope that you may be able to give me an answer to-morrow. Before you leave I will hear your questions and explain any matter that may not appear clear to you."

A few questions by the Chiefs were answered, and the council was closed for the day.

. . . . .

Friday, September 20, 1877.

On this day the Indians accepted the terms of the treaty, and several of the Chiefs made speeches. The first speaker was Crowfoot.

CROWFOOT--"While I speak, be kind and patient. I have to speak for my people, who are numerous, and who rely upon me to follow that course which in the future will tend to their good. The plains are large and wide. We are the children of the plains, it is our home, and the buffalo has been our food always. I hope you look upon the Blackfeet, Bloods and Sarcees as your children now, and that you will be indulgent and charitable to them. They all expect me to





speaking now for them, and I trust the Great Spirit will put into their breasts to be a good people--into the minds of the men, women and children, and their future generations. The advice given me and my people has proved to be very good. If the Police had not come to the country, where would we be all now? Bad men and whiskey were killing us so fast that very few, indeed, of us would have been left to-day. The Police have protected us as the feathers of the bird protect it from the frosts of winter. I wish them all good, and trust that all our hearts will increase in goodness from this time forward. I am satisfied. I will sign the treaty."

BUTTON CHIEF--"I must say what all the people say, and I agree with what they say. I cannot make new laws. I will sign."

RED CROW--"Three years ago, when the Police first came to the country, I met and shook hands with Stamixotokon (Col. McLeod) at Pelly River. Since that time he made me many promises. He kept them all--not one of them was ever broken. Everything that the police have done has been good. I entirely trust Stamixotokon, and will leave everything to him. I will sign with Crowfoot."

FATHER OF MANY CHILDREN--"I have come a long way, and far behind the rest of the bands. I have travelled with these traveaux that you now see outside there with my women and children. I cannot speak much now, but I agree with Crowfoot, and will sign."

OLD SUN--"Crowfoot speaks well. We were summoned to meet the Great Mother's Chiefs here, and we would not disappoint them; we have come, and will sign the treaty. During the past Crowfoot has been called by us our Great Father, The Great Mother's Chief (Governor Laird) will now be our Great Father. Everything you say appears to me to be very good, and I hope that you will give us all we ask--cattle, money, tobacco, guns, and axes, and that you will not let the white man use poison on the prairies. It kills horses and buffalo as well as wolves, and it may kill men. We can ourselves kill the wolves, and set traps for them. We all agree with Crowfoot."

- - Taken from A. Morris, The Treaties of Canada With the Indians of Manitoba and the N.W. Territories (Toronto: Belford, Clarke and Co., 1880), pp. 266-273.

### Relevance to the Scope of the Curriculum

This document could be used to illustrate a number of the generalized ideas listed under scope in the Elementary Curriculum Guide for Social Studies-Enterprise (1964). The major theme of the document is the regulation of the rights and affairs of the Indians through the



offices of the Government of Canada and the North West Mounted Police, and this illuminates the early problem of "governing and protecting" (Scope No. 6) the native inhabitants of the vast empty prairies. The difficulties of the Indians of "getting and preparing food" (Scope No. 1) are clearly brought out by reference to the declining buffalo herds and to the offer of ammunition for hunting purposes. Mention in the Lieutenant-Governor's speech of the law prohibiting the killing of buffalo calves and cows shows a concern for "conserving and preserving nature" (Scope No. 7) as a means of ensuring a more regular food supply.

The last three paragraphs of Laird's speech, in which he is concerned with the raising of cattle, farming and the educating the Indian children reveals that the problem of "educating [for] adult duties and jobs" (Scope No. 8) was one of the considerations of the treaty makers.

The replies of the Indian chiefs--admittedly through an interpreter--indicate that they too were concerned with these same human problems. Study of this document provides information on many aspects of basic needs of the Indians at that time.

### Historical Significance

Historians generally regard the signing of the Blackfeet Treaty as important for the orderly manner in which the negotiations took place, and for the long term effect of the treaty in permitting the uninterrupted development of settlement in the area. The Canadian Government's intention to populate the West with white settlers is expressed in Laird's address to the Chiefs. "She [the Queen] wishes





you to allow her white children to live on your land and raise cattle. . . ."

The acquisition of control of the land by agreement with the Indians allowed the Dominion Government to proceed with this policy through the granting of homesteads to settlers, and through the distribution of land subsidies to railway companies as payment for the construction of a railway. The Canadian Pacific Railway benefitted directly from this latter provision.

Document A-2 also sheds light on some of the problems facing the Indians as a result of the new influences on their way of life. The whisky traders, the declining buffalo herds, the intra-tribal quarrelling are all mentioned as factors in the changing role of the Indian. The Police, too, are mentioned as a factor of change, and Stanley<sup>14</sup> would add missionaries to this same list. The Canadian government's approach to these difficulties was to attempt to assimilate the Indians into the white man's way of life. This would seem to be the implicit assumption underlying the offer of cattle, farming implements, grain and potatoes. Although immediate changes in the societal structure of the Indians were not contemplated--"as long as you continue to move about in lodges"--the offer to provide educational services,--"which is impossible as long as you continue to move from place to place"--suggests that cultural assimilation was a part of the long term objective. Stanley makes this quite plain when he writes,

The object of Canadian policy from the middle of the nineteenth

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<sup>14</sup>G.F.G. Stanley, The Birth of Western Canada (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1960), p. 212 and p. 222.





century was the amalgamation of the native and European races. A clear statement of this purpose is found in the report of the Deputy Superintendent of Indian Affairs for 1871 in which he stated that the policy of the Government was "designed to lead the Indian people by degrees to mingle with the white race in the ordinary avocations of life."<sup>15</sup> In the North West, however, while political and social assimilation or amalgamation remained the ultimate object of native policy the Canadian Government [began] by negotiating treaties with the Indians and by setting aside inalienable reserves for their use.<sup>16</sup>

In the short run the Indian policy of the Canadian Government was more successful than that of the United States because of the absence of a lawless frontier,<sup>17</sup> but its long term effects are still to be evaluated.

The importance of this treaty may be measured by the attention given to it by historians. Of the references consulted, not one omits discussion of the Blackfeet treaty, though the earlier treaties are often ignored. At least two writers, Steele<sup>18</sup> and Turner<sup>19</sup> used exactly the same selections as the investigator. The treaty itself is reproduced in part by Reid, McNaught and Crowe,<sup>20</sup> and Smith,<sup>21</sup> in their

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<sup>15</sup>Spragge to Howe, February 2nd, 1871: Canadian Sessional Papers, 1871, Vol. V, No. 23.

<sup>16</sup>Stanley, op. cit., p. 195.      <sup>17</sup>Ibid., p. 213.

<sup>18</sup>S.B. Steele, Forty Years in Canada (Toronto: McClelland, Goodchild and Stewart, 1915), pp. 117-122.

<sup>19</sup>J.p. Turner, The North West Mounted Police (Ottawa: King's Printer, 1950), Vol. I, pp. 344-357.

<sup>20</sup>J. Stewart Reid, Kenneth McNaught, Harry S. Crowe, A Source Book of Canadian History (Toronto: Longman Green, 1959), p. 181.

<sup>21</sup>H. Murray Smith, Footprints in Time: A Source Book in Canadian History for Young People (Toronto: House of Grant, 1962) pp. 113-5.



respective source books, both of which purport to include materials on the basis of their significance.

The Blackfeet Treaty marked the end of a way of life on the prairies, and simultaneously provided the means--the land--for the next stage in Canada's development--the settlement of the West. In consequence study of this treaty should play an important role in a unit on provincial or community history.

#### DOCUMENT A-3

##### Pre-Railway Transportation

##### Identification

This description of a prairie bull train provides the basis for an interesting comparison with later modes of freighting. It is taken from reports to the Edinburgh Courant and the Edinburgh Scotsman in October, 1881 by the Reverend James Macgregor, who was accompanying Lord Lorne, the Governor-General of Canada, on a tour of Western Canada. The official party consisted of 79 persons, many of whom were journalists, invited to accompany the Governor-General for a purpose that soon became evident. Throughout the tour, writes Dempsey,

. . . The world was given extensive first hand information on the west. The newsmen were enthusiastic about the rich soil, the ranching possibilities of southern Alberta, the vacant lands which would accommodate many hard pressed farmers from Europe and the remarkable climate in the fall season. It is difficult to determine the effects of these articles, but they likely influenced many



immigrants to come to Canada.<sup>22</sup>

Macgregor's enthusiasm for the West seems to have sharpened his eye for detail, for his description of the bull train, which was encountered on the Macleod Trail on September 16, 1881, one day after leaving Calgary, is very precise. There seems to be little reason to challenge either the authenticity or the reliability of this account as other writers on the subject have recorded similar descriptions.<sup>23</sup>

#### Pre-Railway Transportation

In contrast with the previous loneliness of the prairie we now drove over a well-beaten if rough trail, and met what was to be a not uncommon and characteristic sight on our southward journey--a long train of freighted teams, conveying goods to Calgary. Two, often three, and sometimes even four large waggons 4 1/2 inches to the axle, are joined together by strong poles, and drawn by teams of ten mules, and less frequently horses two abreast. When oxen are used, there are twelve, fourteen or even sixteen in the team. This method is adopted in order to save as much as possible that costly thing in this country--human labour, as one man can manage each of these teams and lines of heavy laden waggons, driving his cattle and managing his brake or drag. When driving oxen he walks by their side, encouraging them with his voice and sometimes with a long handleless whip, as they trudge slowly and creakingly along. When they are mules or horses he generally rides or drives from the box, holding the drag thong in one hand and with the other guiding the team by one rein, a long leather thong passed through all the bridles on the near side and attached to the two leaders who, with their jingling bells, determine the movements of all the rest. One long strong pull of the rein leads them to the right, and two short jerks or tugs to the left, and the movements of the long and

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<sup>22</sup>Hugh Dempsey in the Introduction to Rev. James Macgregor's "Lord Lorne in Alberta," Alberta Historical Review, Vol. 12, No. 2, Spring 1964, p. 1.

<sup>23</sup>Grant MacEwen, op. cit., pp. 37-41; G.L. Berry, The Whoop-Up Trail (Edmonton: Institute of Applied Art, 1953), p. 59; Paul Sharp, Whoop-Up Country (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1955), pp. 188-190.







apparently unmanageable team being thus determined more by education and moral suasion than physical force.

These freight teams form a marked object in the lonely and far-reaching prairie. The waggons have a high arched framework like the roof of a cradle, covered with a strong white canvas, protecting and concealing the freight, and forming the home of the teamster, and sometimes his wife and family. As a not unpleasant part of the freight a half-naked baby was now and then seen sprawling in the waggon.

One of these teams will carry over these rough tracts as much as 50,000 lb. weight. We have seen them in almost every position, bravely trudging on, down heavy descents and bogged in deep sloughs, and laden with almost every article required by civilized man, from steam engines to chairs and groceries.

- - This account is taken from the Alberta Historical Review, Vol. 12, No. 2, pp. 10-11, Spring 1964, which reproduced a series of articles originally written for the Edinburgh Courant and Edinburgh Scotsman in October 1881, by James Macgregor on Lord Lorne's tour of Alberta.

#### Relevance to the Scope of the Curriculum

The emphasis in this document on the freight teams illuminates the problem of "transporting and communicating" (Scope No. 4) in the decade before the railway reached Calgary. Much could be said about the construction of the waggons, the number of teams, the preference for bulls over mules or horses, and the problems and way of life of a "bullwhacker." The third paragraph describes the load and may be used to lead to generalizations about the means of "providing food, clothing and shelter" (Scope Nos. 1, 2, 3) in isolated pioneer communities.

#### Historical Significance

In the early years of its existence Calgary and southern Alberta in general were dependent for supplies on transportation routes through the United States. Goods were shipped by boat to the head of navigation



on the Missouri River at Fort Benton, where they were transferred to heavy bull carts and hauled north in an impressive procession. This mode of transportation was the most suitable for the dry, coulee country of southern Alberta and Montana, though horses and mules were also used. Horses were popular on the mail runs but bulls were preferable for the heavy work of freighting.<sup>24</sup>

In connection with this study the bull train is introduced as a precursor of the railway. For fifteen years the coulees and river valleys of the Whoop-Up trail echoed to the curses and yells of the bull-whackers, as they urged their stodgy beasts forward at the rate of ten to fifteen miles per day.<sup>25</sup> The American owned I.G. Baker Company was the biggest operator on the Whoop-Up trail, in addition to being the chief trading company in the area. American influence in Canada even extended to the mail because outgoing letters were required to bear United States postage stamps during these years.<sup>26</sup> Suddenly in 1883, things changed. The arrival of the railway at Calgary removed that region's dependence on the bull trains and American suppliers. "The railway could offer speedy transportation, the bull trains could not."<sup>27</sup> Calgary no longer relied on Montana for supplies, and merchants in the town looked to Eastern Canada (as Sir John A. Macdonald intended them to) for their wares. The bull trains continued on the Whoop-Up trail as far as Fort Macleod until 1891 but passed from the scene entirely when the

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<sup>24</sup>Paul Sharp, op. cit., p.187.    <sup>25</sup>Ibid., p. 189.

<sup>26</sup>Ibid., p. 188.    <sup>27</sup>MacEwen, op. cit., p. 41.



railway line reached that town in the same year.

This document provides a description of a unique mode of transportation, on which the Calgary area depended in the pre-railway years, and provides some evidence of the sparcity of the population in the region at that time.

#### DOCUMENT A-4

### A Township Survey Map of Calgary in 1883, and the Accompanying Report of the Dominion Lands Surveyor

#### Identification

Among the first venturers into the prairies after 1870 were the Dominion Lands Surveyors. As it was necessary to survey an area before it could be opened up for settlement, the township survey maps and the official reports of the surveyors, provide a fairly accurate picture of the pre-settlement era in any area. The surveyors were not always the first in a region. The police, the traders, the missionaries, and the squatters were often in advance of the official surveys, as this map of Calgary in 1883--the earliest available--shows.

As one of the Dominion Government's official documents, designed to assist in the settlement of the area, there is little reason to challenge its authenticity. Not much is known about the Dominion Lands Surveyor, Charles LaRue, except that he was responsible for many surveys in this region at this time. The correction stamp in the right hand upper corner shows that there are some inaccuracies on this map.

Reference can be made to the 1895 edition of the map in the Department







of Highways, Government of the Province of Alberta, Edmonton, for the corrected version. The inaccuracies, however, do not alter the historic and geographic significance of this map.

Document A-4 consists of Figures 1 and 2 on the following pages.

#### Relevance to the Scope of the Curriculum

Maps imply rather than supply reasons for human endeavour. In terms of the scope of the curriculum, this map could be used to stimulate some ideas about human behavior in most of the areas designated. The location of many settlers by the rivers and streams may generate ideas on the "getting and providing [of] food" (Scope No. 1). The use of the bluffs for wind protection is an example of "providing shelter" (Scope No. 2). The railway and trails are evidence of the needs for "transporting and communicating" (Scope No. 4). The presence of at least two fences may be construed as "safety" (Scope No. 5) precautions, while the police fort represents the means of "governing and protecting" (Scope No. 6). The two stores known to be operating in the area, the Hudson's Bay Company (marked), and the I.G. Baker Company (unmarked) were the means of providing the community with general supplies, and the tract of land marked "R.C. Mission" shows that provision had been made for "expressing ideals through religion" (Scope No. 10). Together with the surveyor's report, this map illustrates quite well the variety of human needs generated in a pioneer community.

#### Historical Significance

As the earliest available township survey information, this map



105.

13/3/84

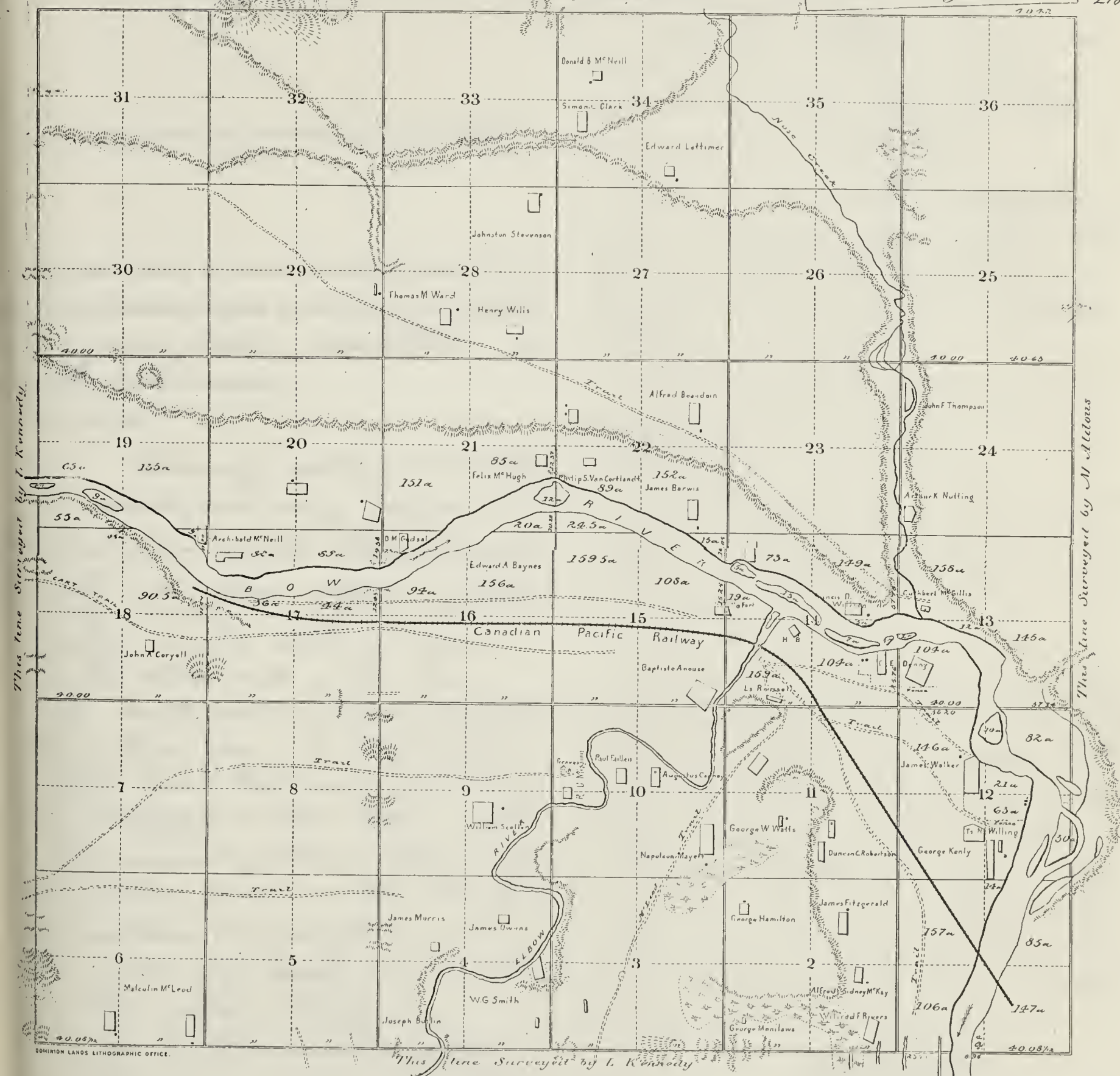
—P435—

Refer To  
CORRECTION SURVEY  
No. 130 & 542

2980

Scale, 40 Chains to an inch.

*This line Surveyed by M Aldous*



*Surveyed by the Undersigned*

Dominion Lands Office  
Ottawa

8<sup>th</sup> March. 1884.

*Approved and confirmed*

for the Surveyor General

## Contents:

*Land in Sections 22219.00 Acres*

Roads	433.80	"
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Water	821.00	"
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Total Area 23473.80 "

Figure 1, Township Survey Map of Calgary, 1883. (Alberta Department of Highways).





## REPORT.

To the Honourable the Minister of the Interior,  
Ottawa.

I have the honour, in accordance with my instructions,  
submit the following Report on the Survey of Township  
24 in the 1st Range West of  
5th Initial Meridian:

That is to say:

Generally rolling and hilly.  
The middle part being crossed or  
traversed from North West to South  
East by the Bow River; a flat

valley existing either on one or  
on the other side of the river.

The South part is traversed by the  
Elbow River, from South West to  
North East. Both rivers meet at  
Fort Calgary on the section 14th.

The current of these streams which  
take their sources on the Rocky  
Mountains is very rapid, and  
the water very fresh, pure and  
good; the bottom stony.

A saw mill has already been  
erected, and is now in full o-  
peration on the Bow River.

The River Bow is from eight  
to twelve chains wide, and  
from three to six feet deep in  
low water time.

The River Elbow is from one  
to five chains wide and from  
one to two and a half feet deep,  
also in low water time.

Bushes on both rivers (where  
there is any) are from fifty (50) to  
one hundred feet high, and are  
partly covered with few Poplars,  
Willows and bushes -

Soil. Surface and subsoil  
sandy and gravelly. 2d and  
3d Class.

The town, seems to become more  
extensive and more popular on  
the east side of the Elbow River,  
on section 14th.

Its geo-graphical position its  
picturesque sites, the proximity  
of the Rocky Mountains and of the  
wood and timber, by way of both  
rivers added with its ample sup-  
ply of fresh and pure water.

Under all these numerous advan-  
tages, the town of Calgary will  
soon become one of the most im-  
portant places of the North  
West.

C. E. LaRue  
D. L. S.





and surveyor's report of Calgary in 1883 represent the genesis of organized colonization of the area. The township boundary lines had been surveyed by M. Aldous and L. Kennedy in 1881, and the first survey of the entire township was conducted by Charles LaRue in July and August 1883, and published in March 1884. Government policy was to complete "a scientific system of survey pushed forward with speed and accuracy in advance of actual settlement."<sup>28</sup> The fact that the railway reached Calgary while the survey was still being conducted, and that a number of settlers had already taken up land in anticipation of the railway shows one of the surveyor's difficulties in implementing government policy. The surveyor's notebook<sup>29</sup> records that most of the survey had been completed before the arrival of the track. This map is, therefore, a good illustration of the extent of settlement in the district just before the arrival of the railway and the ensuing rush of settlers.

From a historical viewpoint both parts of this document provide a number of interesting features of early settlement. The common preference of settlers for land on the valley floor and close to the rivers or streams is quite evident. Settlers preferred river valley land because

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<sup>28</sup>Chester Martin, "Dominion Lands" Policy (Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1938), p. 236.

<sup>29</sup>"Field Notes of Township 24, Range 1, West of the Fifth Meridian. Surveyed by C. LaRue, D.L.S. July and August 1883" M.S. Survey Book No. 3232. Director of Surveys, Department of Highways, Province of Alberta, Edmonton.



of the protection they thought it afforded from the wind for themselves and their cattle. In addition, as the surveyor's report points out, in the valley there was a good quantity of wood for building materials or fuel, and an ample supply of water.

Of equal interest is the convergence of trails from all directions on the point near the confluence of the Bow and Elbow rivers, where the fort, the Hudson's Bay and the I.G. Baker Company were located. This was, apparently, the natural centre of the community.

The whole system of township survey along the North-South and East-West parallels is of extreme interest and significance in developing an understanding of patterns of settlement in the West. The natural inclination of the earliest settlers, however, was to take the land near the river, but the township survey system tended to induce a more orderly arrangement of settlements away from the river.

The location of such prominent community features as the police fort, the Hudson's Bay Company, Father Lacombe's Roman Catholic mission, and the Macleod trail are all clearly shown. The I.G. Baker store, however, is not marked.<sup>30</sup> It is significant to note that sections 15 and 16--the present downtown Calgary area--were virtually unoccupied. Section 15 had been set aside for horse pasture for the police. The

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<sup>30</sup> MacEwen says that the store was "situated opposite the police barracks, southwards. . . on land, which according to a map of 1883, was held in the name of W.G. Conrad." The land--"about 20 acres"--was in "the S.W. quarter of section 14, on the west side of the Elbow." (MacEwen, op. cit., p. 16) The name of W.G. Conrad is not shown on this map either.



C.P.R. charter, however, allowed the company to claim odd-numbered sections within a certain distance of the track. The Order-in-Council reserving section 15 was rescinded and the company proceeded to build its station in the centre of the section. The rest of the section was then laid out as a townsite.<sup>31</sup> The government mapped out section 16 in the same way<sup>32</sup> and the early businessmen already settled on the other sections were obliged to follow the mainstream of business to the new townsite.<sup>33</sup>

Another interesting feature of the map is the names of the settlers, which raises some speculations of their places of origin. The evidence of French names around the Roman Catholic Mission suggests a metis group of settlers, while the names--McNeill, McHugh, McKay and Robertson support MacGregor's contention that "in the North West. . . you will find the Scottish Highlander well to the front."<sup>34</sup> At least three of the settlers--Denny, Walker and Barvis--are known to be former Mounted Policemen who left the force to take up ranching.

The surveyor's report accompanying the map is typical of many such reports. It is possible to interpret his description of the topography from the map. The saw mill he mentions is not shown on the map but

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<sup>31</sup> MacEwen, op. cit., p. 43.

<sup>32</sup> Map by A.J. McVittie, D.L.S. 1884. Department of Lands and Forests, Province of Alberta, Edmonton.

<sup>33</sup> MacEwen, op. cit., 44.

<sup>34</sup> Dempsey, op. cit., p. 8., citing MacGregor.







belonged to James Walker<sup>35</sup> and was probably on his land. LaRue's comments on the trees and the river lend support to the ideas on early settlement mentioned above, and his final appraisal of the area seems quite prophetic, and in keeping with the optimism of the era.

The speed with which the survey was conducted to keep ahead of settlement caused a few inaccuracies to appear. It is known that the surveyors only followed the section lines and that much of the data about features within the section was obtained by estimating. It is noticeable on this map that the shading of escarpments is more precise along the section lines. Other inaccuracies were caused by prairie fires burning the posts, cattle or buffalo demolishing them, frosts causing the posts to heave and floods carrying them away. Natives sometimes used the surveyor's posts for firewood, and interested parties occasionally moved them.<sup>36</sup> Other difficulties included a lack of sufficiently qualified surveyors and a shortage of the proper means or appliances for testing the surveyors' instruments.<sup>37</sup> The approach of the railway also probably induced the haste with which this survey was completed as it did with others in 1883.<sup>38</sup>

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<sup>35</sup>MacEwen, op. cit., p. 68.

<sup>36</sup>J.B. Milliken, Investigation of the Position of Monuments on Base Lines and Meridians of Dominion Lands Survey System (Ottawa: Department of the Interior, 1921), p. 15.

<sup>37</sup>Ibid., p. 10.

<sup>38</sup>Carl Lester, "Dominion Land Surveys," Alberta Historical Review Vol.11, No. 3, Summer 1963, p. 26.



This document is, in consequence, considered to be quite significant historically, because it illustrates the sparcity of population in the area prior to the arrival of the railway, is an example of a township survey conducted to prepare for the settlement of the region, and by implication shows that the construction of the railway was a necessary preliminary to permanent settlement.

#### SUMMARY

The documents, presented in Set A, represent four aspects of life in southern Alberta in the ten years prior to the construction of the railway. All the documents have a bearing on later settlement in the Calgary area, and to a large extent, the state of affairs described in the documents was to be significantly changed after the arrival of the railway, as the documents in Set C illustrate.

These documents, therefore, are relevant materials for any study of the Calgary region, of pioneer settlement or of railway development in the West. The documents have all been considered suitable sources for students in the intermediate grades by a panel of experienced teachers. In addition it is possible to extract from Set A information relating to nine of the ten generalized ideas on human problems and needs as outlined in the scope of the curriculum guides.

Historians generally acknowledge the significance of the Mounted Police, the Blackfeet Treaty, the bull trains and the surveys in their accounts of the early settlement of the West. Persons with a special interest in Calgary history have made particular reference to the



influence of these factors on the growth of the city.<sup>39</sup> The following conclusions of historians, listed in Chapter III, are substantiated by the evidence in the documents of Set A.

Conclusion 11. The presence of the North West Mounted Police in the Territories prior to the construction of the railway and the incoming of settlers greatly facilitated the peaceful interaction of the white man with the indigenous population.

The founding of Fort Calgary, described in document A-1, represents an initial stage of police activity in alleviating the dangers of a "lawless frontier in Western Canada."<sup>40</sup> Having the goodwill and confidence of the Blackfeet chiefs, as evidenced in document A-2, the police were better able to maintain peaceful relations between the Indians and the incoming settlers. The presence of the police is also shown on document A-4 by the fort at the confluence of the Bow and the Elbow Rivers. The latter document also shows the tendency for white men to settle close to the means of police protection. Each of these documents partially substantiates conclusion 11.

Conclusion 12. Prior to the arrival of the C.P.R. at Calgary, that community depended for its supplies on the American trading centre, Fort Benton on the Missouri River, and on bull-, mule-, or horse-

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<sup>39</sup>Grant MacEwen, Calgary Cavalcade: From Fort to Fortune (Edmonton: Institute of Applied Art, 1958); L.H. Bussard, "Early History of Calgary," (unpublished Master's thesis, University of Alberta, Edmonton, 1935).

<sup>40</sup>Stanley, op. cit., p. 213.





drawn transportation.

Partial evidence for this conclusion is provided by Macgregor's account of the bull train which he encountered close to Calgary. The dependency of the community on animal transportation is noted, and the fact that the bull train was coming from the south implies that it collected its freight in Montana.

Conclusion 10. Prior to the construction of the C.P.R., the area around Calgary was almost void of permanent settlement.

Collectively the documents in Set A, whose dominant theme is the relative isolation of the region prior to the construction of the C.P.R., contribute evidence for this conclusion.

Conclusion 16. A necessary preliminary to the settlement of the Canadian West was a comprehensive and accurate survey of the region. The rapid construction of the railway hastened the conducting of the survey.

The survey map and accompanying surveyor's report, document A-4, both represent materials produced by the government to prepare the region for settlement. The fact that the railway arrived at Calgary while the survey was still being conducted is evident from the map, and may have induced the hasty preparation of this map.

These generalized conclusions represent the views of historians who have studied this period, and the documents in Set A provide brief, but realistic illustration of these ideas. Four documents can only offer a sample of the important phases of the pre-construction period. Some



additional items are included in Appendix A. Documents on the actual construction and operation of the Canadian Pacific Railway are provided in the next chapter.





## CHAPTER VI

### ASSESSMENT OF SET B

#### DOCUMENTS ON THE CONSTRUCTION AND EARLY OPERATIONS OF THE C.P.R. UP TO 1888

The six documents included in this set are all related to the construction and early operation of the Canadian Pacific Railway. Consideration has been given to the human, financial and engineering difficulties associated with the construction. In addition two documents on the early phases of the company's operation have been included. The six documents are

1. The Train That Never Went Back--an account of the construction from 1882 to 1884 by the fireman of the 'front' train, John Ormiston.
2. "Don't Invest in the C.P.R."--an article on the railway's finances taken from the London Truth of September 1, 1881.
3. The Problem of Tunnel Mountain at Banff, by J.H.E. Secretan, discussing a construction problem.
4. The Completion of Construction--a telegraphed message from Sandford Fleming to Sir John A. Macdonald announcing the completion of the line.
5. C.P.R. Facilities and Prices, 1888--two advertisements illustrating some of the company's services, taken from a C.P.R. publication of 1888.
6. A Unique Mountain Journey--a first person account of a ride through the Rockies on the cowcatcher of the engine in 1886 by Lady Agnes Macdonald, wife of the Prime Minister of Canada.

A number of other documents that are relevant to this topic were



located, but were not acceptable to this study for failing to meet at least one of the established criteria. An annotated list of these documents is given in Appendix B. The arrangement of documents in this chapter is intended to develop a perspective on the progress and difficulties of the construction and the operation of the Canadian Pacific Railway line. Document B-1 offers an overview on the construction period in Alberta. Documents B-2 and B-3 present information on the financial and engineering problems of the company. Document B-4 marks the company's transition from a constructional to an operational enterprise, while Documents B-5 and B-6 examine aspects of the company's operation. The assessment of the documents in this set follows the same pattern set in the preceding chapter.

#### Relevance to the Alberta Curriculum Sequence

The documents in Set B, if taken as a whole, can be used to study the following topics.

1. Pioneer life in the West--Grade IV.
2. Alberta at work--historical introduction--Grade V.
3. The Opening of the West--in the Unit on "Successive Waves of Early Settlers laid the Foundation for a Canadian Nation and Culture"--Grade VII.

The set has particular relevance as the basis for a study on the importance of the railway in settling the West.

#### Suitability for Students in the Intermediate Grades

Set B originally consisted of two sets, one designated B, which



was concerned with the construction of the railway, and the other, designated C, which was concerned with the early operation of the railway. Following the examination of both sets by the panel of experienced teachers, only seven documents were considered to be not unsuitable for use as social studies resource materials in the intermediate grades.

TABLE II

A SUMMARY OF THE ASSESSMENTS OF THE SUITABILITY OF THE DOCUMENTS  
IN SET B BY A PANEL OF FIVE EXPERIENCED TEACHERS

Document		Teachers					Conclusion
Original number	New number	A.	B.	C.	D.	E	
B-1	B-1	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	retained
B-2		yes	yes	yes	yes	no	retained
B-3	B-3	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	retained
B-4	B-4	yes	yes	yes	no	yes	retained
B-5		no	yes	yes	yes	no	rejected
B-6		no	yes	yes	no	no	rejected
B-7		no	yes	no	no	yes	rejected
B-8	B-2	yes	yes	yes	no	yes	retained
C-1	B-5	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	retained
C-2		no	yes	yes	no	yes	rejected
C-3		no	yes	yes	no	no	rejected
C-4	B-6	no	yes	yes	yes	yes	retained





Five documents, the original B-5, B-6, B-7, C-2 and C-3, were rejected from the collection when they were found to be not acceptable to at least four of the five teachers. One other document, the original B-2, was excluded when it was found that its source could not be substantiated.

Rather than retain one set of four documents and another set of two, the investigator decided that, as the themes of each set were closely related--the one being concerned with the construction of the railway, and the other with its early operation--it would be expedient to combine the two themes and to consider the six documents as one set, now designated Set B. The documents were then re-numbered as shown in Table II and were analysed in terms of their relevance to the Scope of the curriculum and of their historical significance. An assessment of the analysis follows for each document.

#### DOCUMENT B-1

##### The Train That Never Went Back

##### Identification

In the years 1882 and 1883 over 900 miles of track were laid on the prairie between Brandon and the Rocky Mountains. The immensity of this task called for the smooth and efficient organization of men and supplies. As an integral part of this organization, the crew of the 'front' train were responsible for moving supplies from the sidings, located every ten miles along the track, to "the end of steel." The engineer and fireman of the front train locomotives were, therefore, in a good position to observe all aspects of the actual construction of the



track. John Ormiston was a fireman on one of the two front trains for three years, 1882 to 1884, and his reminiscences of his experience during that time were given forty years later in an interview with the Western writer, Elizabeth Bailey Price. The interview was reprinted in The Albertan, November 11, 1963, and is reproduced in this document. In view of the time lapse between the events and the interview, Ormiston's recollections do not have the precision of a factual report. Nonetheless the sequence of events seems quite correct,<sup>1</sup> and provides both an anecdotal record and an overview of the period.

### The Train That Never Went Back

#### FLOOD YEAR

"In 1882," recalled Ormiston, "steel was laid a few miles west of Brandon. It was a flood year and the whole village of Grand Valley (two miles east of Brandon) was under water which was so deep that we crossed the Bogie Creek plains in a small steamer to get there. The country at that time was just opening up for settlement and we were helping the homesteaders in.

"All that summer I worked on construction and finished up at Colley, east of Maple Creek. The winter of '83 was a particularly hard one and I can remember one winter day, when we were hauling construction material, we had to tear up the platform of the station at Swift Current to keep our engine alive in order to get back to Regina, or "Pile of Bones" as we called it then, and which was our headquarters for the winter.

"There wasn't a drop of water in the country and we had to melt snow, or 'snow up' by backing the engine tender into the snow bank, shovelling snow into the manhole of the tender and placing the steam hose in to melt it. Snowing up took 50 minutes, but in doing this we always had to be careful to see there was enough water left in to keep the engine alive and to help melt the snow.

"We carried our own supply of coal and shovelled it from the cars to the tender.

#### WORK STARTS AGAIN

"In the spring of '83 the front train got ready to start construction again--to work on the Langdon-Shepard contract with Donald Grant in charge of the work. A fine 'boss' he was--a popular favorite with the men and there was no quarrelling while he was in charge.

"Jim O'Hagen, Billy Pullar, Leslie MacLachland and I (engineers

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<sup>1</sup>J.M. Gibbon, Steel of Empire (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1935), pp. 281-257.





and firemen of the two front train locomotives) got ready to go. We equipped our engines with every kind of tools to do our own repairing, for there were no shops in those days. We had to go on our own, and if we didn't make good--well, our places would soon be filled by fellows who could.

"Every second Sunday we would have to wash out our engine boilers with a siphon hose, as the engines couldn't be spared during the week and this was the one day we had to get them into shape. The other Sundays were wash and clean-up days. We used to get out our tubs, get water from the engines and with a washboard, go to it. Sometimes missionaries came and held services for the gang.

"Everything went fine until we came to Bullhead Creek and Dunmore Hill. Here we were held up as 'cuts' and 'dumps' weren't finished and it took a few days to get in a bridge.

#### GREAT EXCITEMENT

"Then we went on to Medicine Hat and great excitement prevailed because we all heard about the rattlesnakes there. The men were afraid that they might step on them along the railroad grades, and no one cared to receive a fatal bite. However, we managed to get through without any trouble, except the delay caused by the pile bridge over the South Saskatchewan River not being finished.

"Finally the work was finished and Jim O'Hagen steamed up and slowly crossed the bridge--the first train to ever cross the South Saskatchewan River. Considerable difficulty was encountered on the Medicine Hat hill but eventually, rail by rail, we made the grade. In order to get water we had to siphon it out of the river and haul it in cars until we reached Langevin, arriving, I well remember, July 4.

"Here we heard the most fearful rumors that the Blackfoot Indians were threatening an attack. Imagine how scared we were! Miles from nowhere. Not a gun or arms of any kind with us! When we reached Cluny, looking over the prairie we saw a great cloud of dust coming towards us, what appeared to be hundreds and hundreds of mounted men.

#### INDIAN SCARE

"Of course we thought our time had come and all we could do was place the train in readiness to get back as fast as the engine would take us. We waited in fear and trembling for the Indians to come--and they did, in all their war paint, 1,400 braves.

"We made signs as best we could, and found to our great relief they had only come to give us a 'sun dance'. So they formed themselves in a ring and, to the thump-thump of the tom tom, danced round and round. In return we gave them tea and biscuits.

"So we went on in the usual way--making a record of one mile in one hour at Strathmore--that is, the old Strathmore, several miles east of the present townsite--and came on to Bow Crossing, now Ogden. Here we were tied up two weeks because of lack of bridge material.

"After getting across the bridge we came on to Calgary, the eleventh day of August, the end of the Langdon and Shepard contract.



## VISIT STONEYS

"It was a Saturday night that we reached Morleyville. On Sunday Bill Pullar and I thought we would visit the Stoney Indian reserve two miles from the station. Here we found to our surprise the Indians all seated in circles. In the centre were the smallest Indians girls, while ringed around was first a circle of boys, then squaws, with the braves on the outside. The Indians beckoned to us but we didn't quite understand them.

"Then they started to sing, and never will I forget it--it was the tune of Old Hundred, away in a wild country, an Indian camp set in a circle of mountains, and these wild people singing the old hymn we had learned at home and knew ever since we could remember.

"We didn't know their language but to us it was 'Praise God from whom all blessings flow, Praise him all people here below, Praise him, above, ye heavenly host, Praise Father, Son and Holy Ghost.'

"This was the mission of the Rev. John McDougall and although he was absent, the chiefs were conducting the service.

## PUSH TO LAGGAN

"Averaging from two to two and a half miles of track laying per day, we passed the now deserted Silver City, then a lively mining town located near the present station of Castle, and completed the road to Lake Louise (Laggan then). Though the mountains construction was not in a continuous line as it had been on the prairies--parts were finished, others not.

"The weather began to get cold, snow was piling up, and it was slow work cutting down timber to fill the gaps, but we did the best we could. When we got within a little better than half a mile of the summit of the Great Divide, orders came to quit work--on Dec. 22, 1883.

"Everybody was allowed to go home, but as my home was far away in Scotland I decided to winter at Canmore. There I hunted and trapped marten and mink in company with Yuel Carrier, one of the two full-blooded Mohawk Indians who had been educated by Edward VII when he was Prince of Wales.

"Carrier had been a clerk on construction east of Winnipeg but had drifted west. He was one of the finest Indians I ever met. He died later on the construction of the Crow's Nest branch.

## BACK TO WORK

"In the spring of '84 we prepared again for construction with headquarters at Lake Louise. We were able to make an early start although there was some difficulty in getting the snow and ice off the rails. We laid track over the summit, then came the 'Big Hill', the worst hill in the whole country. We were all frightened here, and no wonder, for we had two bad wrecks with runaway engines.

"We were not equipped with air brakes and the hand brakes would not hold. Even after air brakes were installed, if engines were compelled to stop on the big hill for any time, the men chained the wheel to the track.





"The company decided that construction here would require the best engines with the finest Westinghouse air brakes put on wheels, while at Laggan the road material was all transferred to cars with double brakes. So one engine was sent to test--but again the brakes would not hold and the '146' was only in service a few days when she ran away and was completely wrecked in the Kicking Horse River.

ON TO FIELD

"There were at that time in Winnipeg two Mogul engines, and so, equipping these with the very latest air brakes, they were despatched to Laggan. These worked much better, although in spite of the greatest care there was one bad runaway. It was then decided to put safety switches one and a half miles apart on 10 per cent grades. After this the work was carried with the utmost care to Field.

"That year the front train went on to Palliser, Golden and Donald, finishing up at Beaver Mouth, with no trouble except delay at the bridge over the Otter Tail River.

"I did not work on construction the next year, but that was the year the great trans-continental road was finished, in November, 1885"

So ended a saga of some great days in railroading--days in which Calgary was the centre of activity and which started a sleepy Mounted Police post on its way to becoming the great mercantile and industrial centre of the western plains. Since those days that were recalled so vividly by pioneer railroader Scotty Ormiston, Calgary has never looked back.

- - Taken from the interview of Price with Ormiston 1922, reprinted in The Albertan, November 11, 1963.

#### Relevance to the Scope of the Curriculum

The emphasis in Ormiston's description on human problems associated with the construction tends to focus attention in terms of the scope of the curriculum on the problems of "guarding health, welfare and safety" (Scope No. 5). His reference to the rattlesnakes, the visit of the Blackfeet and the brake failures on the Big Hill all fall within this category. The whole document is concerned with the problem of "transporting and communicating" (Scope No. 4) and particular references, such as "hauling construction materials" and "snowing up" outline different aspects of this problem. Ormiston's Sunday visit to the Stoneys' camp





and his mention of the missionaries holding services for the construction gang show that concern for "expressing ideals through religion" (Scope No. 10) was prevalent at that time.

Although this document only enlarges on three aspects of the scope of the curriculum, the anecdotal style of the interviewee personalizes these aspects.

### Historical Significance

Railway historians<sup>2</sup> agree that the construction of the line was completed swiftly. It was, in fact, finished in half the time stipulated. If used with a map of the prairie provinces, this reminiscent survey of the work done in the years 1882, 1883 and 1884 can testify to the speed of construction by reference to the times and places mentioned. In fact, Ormiston mentions the speed of construction twice, referring once to the average building rate and once to the Strathmore record, a feat also recalled by another railway pioneer.<sup>3</sup>

Ormiston's personal involvement in the construction gives his reminiscences a perspective which emphasises relatively minor events, such as the crossing of the South Saskatchewan River at Medicine Hat, or the "welcome" of the Blackfeet. His account, nonetheless, does provide

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<sup>2</sup>H.A. Innis, A History of the Canadian Pacific Railway (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1923), p. 291; G.P. de T. Glazebrook, The History of Transportation in Canada (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1938), p. 274; and Gibbon, op. cit., p. 239.

<sup>3</sup>Turner Bone, When the Steel Went Through (Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1947), p. 50.



evidence of the engineering and human difficulties of the construction era, of the dependency of settlement on the railway and of the rapidity of the construction, in addition to providing an overview of the construction in Alberta between 1882 and 1884.

DOCUMENT B-2

"Don't Invest in the C.P.R."

Identification

One of the most persistent problems facing officials of the Canadian Pacific Railway was that of financing the entire construction project. Initially the Canadian Government offered a cash subsidy of twenty-five million dollars and a land grant of twenty-five million acres. At the same time the company was given the power to raise capital by the issue of five per cent bonds to a total of twenty-five million dollars, five million dollars of which the Government of Canada accepted as security for the completion of the construction period.<sup>4</sup> Even before the bonds were offered to the general public in Montreal, London and New York in November 1881, antagonists of the trans-continental railway were proclaiming the folly of the scheme. Document B-2 is typical of the viewpoint of the company's adversaries abroad. The extract given below

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<sup>4</sup>C.P.R. Prospectus. Macdonald Papers, (M.G. 26, A.1(a) Vol. 128) (Public Archives of Canada).





is an edited version of the original,<sup>5</sup> which is considerably longer.

"Don't Invest in the C.P.R.--Canada's Not Worth It"

The Canadian Pacific Railway Company has begun, I see, to launch its bonds. A group of Montreal and New York bankers have undertaken to float \$10 million worth of the company's land grant bonds and the Bank of Montreal, with its usual courage, has taken one-fourth of the entire loan.

This announcement looks as if the Canadians were going to raise the necessary capital on their side of the water, but I have a shrewd suspicion that they have no real intention of doing anything of the kind.

The New Yorkers are keen enough gamblers, and reckless enough at times, I admit, and yet it is impossible to believe that they are such fools as to put their money into this mad project. I would as soon credit them with a willingness to subscribe hard cash in support of a scheme for the utilization of icebergs.

The Canadian Pacific Railway will run, if it is ever finished, through a country frost-bound for seven or eight months in the year, and will connect with the west part of the Dominion a province which embraces about as forbidding a country as any on the face of the earth.

British Columbians, they say, have forced on the execution of this part of the contract under which they became incorporated with the Dominion, and believe that prosperity will come to them when the line is made.

\* \* \* \* \*

This is a delusion on their part. British Columbia is barren, cold, mountain country that is not worth keeping.

It would never have been inhabited at all, unless by trappers of the Hudson's Bay Company, had the "gold fever" not taken a party of mining adventurers there, and ever since that fever died down the place has been going from bad to worse.

Fifty railroads would not galvanize it into prosperity.

Nevertheless, the Canadian government has fairly launched into this project and I have no doubt the English public will soon be asked to further it with their cash.

I doubt if \$10 million of ready cash could be found in all of Canada for this or any other work of utility at a pinch, but the Canadians are not such idiots as to part with one dollar of their own if they can borrow their neighbors'.

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<sup>5</sup>The original version, under the title "The Canadian Pacific Bubble," appears in J.M. Gibbon, *op. cit.*, p. 224, and, under the title "The Cold Barren West," in the Alberta Historical Review, Vol. 12, No. 4, Autumn 1964, pp. 25-6.



The Canadians spend money and we provide it. That has been the arrangement hitherto, and it has worked out splendidly--for the Canadians--too well for them to try any other scheme with the Canadian Pacific, which they must know is never likely to pay a single red cent of interest on the money that may be sunk in it.

\* \* \* \* \*

A friend of mine told me--and he knew what he was talking about--that he did not believe the much-touted Manitoba Settlement would hold out many years. The people who have gone there cannot stand the coldness of the winters.

Men and cattle are frozen to death in numbers that would rather startle the intending settler if he knew; and those who are not killed outright are often maimed for life by frostbites.

The street nuisances kill people with malaria, or drive them mad with plagues of insects; and to keep themselves alive during the long winter they have to imitate the habits of the Esquimaux.

It is through a death-dealing region of this kind that the new railway is to run.

Canada is one of the most overrated colonies we have, but it is heartily "loyal" and makes the loyalty pay.

\* \* \* \* \*

As for the country as a whole, it is poor and it is crushed with debt. The Supreme government owes about 35 million pounds altogether and every province has its separate debt, as also has almost every collection of shanties calling itself a city.

One of these days when the debt load gets too heavy, Ontario is pretty certain to go over to the States into which it dovetails and where its best trade outlet is. When the day comes the Dominion will disappear.

With the contingency ahead, and with the prospect of another 50 million pounds or so to be added to the debt, can it be said that Canadian Unguaranteed four per cent are worth their present price?

The Dominion is, in short, a fraud all through and is destined to burst up like any other fraud.

Then, and not I suppose till then, the British taxpayer will ask why we guarantee so much of this sham government debt.

- - Taken from an article in the London Truth, September 1, 1881, reprinted in The Courier, December 9, 1964.

### Relevance to the Scope of the Curriculum

This magazine article is mainly concerned with the problem of "transporting and communicating" (Scope No. 4), towards which the author had adopted a particular viewpoint. Much of the content is opinion, but





the author's comments about the relationships of Canada to Britain, and of British Columbia to the Dominion, highlight some of the difficulties to be considered in the area of "governing. . ." (Scope No. 6). His information on life on the prairie in winter reflects a viewpoint that was widely held, towards the problem of "guarding health, welfare and safety" (Scope No. 5) in Canada.

Since no evidence is provided for the reliability of the author's source, the information given in this article should be treated with caution.

#### Historical Significance

The building of the Canadian Pacific Railway was one of the most controversial issues of the 1870's and 1880's. Not only in Parliament, where Edward Blake and his Liberal followers chided the Conservative Government for its folly of entering into a contract for the construction of the railway which was "not merely fraught with great danger, but certain to prove disastrous to the future of this country,"<sup>6</sup> but in financial circles also, opposition to the transcontinental railway was much in evidence. American interests, especially those associated with the Northern Pacific<sup>7</sup> had hoped to capture the trade of the Canadian West for themselves, while British interests, strongly represented in the rival Grand Trunk Railway, were also opposed to the schemes. Neither of these two groups could be expected to support the Canadian Pacific scheme. Glazebrook points out that "to all but a few enthusiasts it was

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<sup>6</sup>Glazebrook, op. cit., p. 269.

<sup>7</sup>Innis, op. cit., p. 93, and 102.





always, or became a hazardous experiment. A thinly populated east, throwing a railway over 2,000 miles of almost uninhabited country was not to be taken lightly."<sup>8</sup> Document B-2 shows that the opposition to the project was biting in its criticism.

As the Canadian Pacific Railway Company had anticipated raising capital on the London market, the appearance of a document, such as this, in London, could do little to fulfil the company's expectations. In fact the company sold very few bonds in London. Creighton summarizes the situation with these words:

. . .at the beginning at least, British finance declined to play its necessary role. . . . No important British financial house gave the project the slightest support or encouragement. . .and the Grand Trunk Railway Company, which had its headquarters in London, maintained an unrelenting and influential opposition for years to come.<sup>9</sup>

The magazine article writer's distorted opinion of Canada and its people and his prejudiced appraisal of the railway project make it difficult to accept his information as historical fact, but an examination of his sources and their reliability would provide a useful exercise in historical criticism. Inasmuch as this document represents one viewpoint on Canada and its potential, it is historically significant. A different viewpoint, written at almost the same time, is that given by the Reverend James Macgregor as he accompanied Lord Lorne on the Governor-General's Western tour.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>8</sup>Glazebrook, op. cit., p. 281.

<sup>9</sup>Donald Creighton, John A. Macdonald. The Old Chieftain (Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1955), p. 302.

<sup>10</sup>James Macgregor, "Lord Lorne in Alberta," Alberta Historical Review, Vol. 12, No. 2, Summer 1964, pp. 1-14.



Document B-2, therefore, is included in this collection because it is representative of the financial forces opposing the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway. As a part of Set B, this magazine article illustrates one of the Canadian Pacific Railway Company's difficulties during the early construction period.

#### DOCUMENT B-3

##### The Problem of Tunnel Mountain at Banff

##### Identification

In addition to its financial problems, the Canadian Pacific Railway Company ran into many construction difficulties, especially in the mountain region. Since nearly all the surveys conducted by Sandford Fleming had been predicated on the premise that the track would run through the Yellowhead Pass, there was a paucity of information on probable construction problems in other areas. In 1881 when the company finally chose to follow the southern route across the prairies and cross the Rockies through the Kicking Horse Pass, it became necessary to survey the area and to plan the location of the line very quickly. Not all the plans were well laid, as Document B-3 signifies.

The author of this document is J.H.E. Secretan, who was a surveyor and engineer with the company from its beginning. This selection is taken from his autobiography, Canada's Great Highway. From the First Stake to the Last Spike. As with other published memoirs of early railway pioneers, the book was published long after the events took place, and thus the objectivity of this document is difficult to





substantiate. Although the "Divisional Engineer on the spot" is unnamed, a former C.P.R. surveyor called Charles Shaw recalled the same incident in a newspaper interview in 1935.<sup>11</sup> It is quite certain, through reference to a map of Banff, that the railway skirted Tunnel Mountain, but the historical reliability of Secretan's version of the incident has not been established.

#### The Problem of Tunnel Mountain at Banff

Van Horne was always lucky and often blundered into the right thing by sheer bull-headed luck, when everything seemed against him. I remember an instance of this when one day he sent for me to his office in Winnipeg and rapidly revolving his chair squinted at me over the top of his pince-nez, at the same time unrolling a profile about one hundred miles at a time, saying, "Look here, some damned fool of an engineer has put in a tunnel up there, and I want you to go and take it out!" I asked if I might be permitted to see where the objectionable tunnel was. He kept rolling and unrolling the profile till he came to the fatal spike which showed a mud tunnel about 900-feet long--somewhere on the Bow River at mileage 942. I mildly suggested that the engineer, whoever he was, had not put the tunnel in for fun. He didn't care what the engineer did it for, but they were not going to build it and delay the rest of the work. "How long do you think it would take to build the cursed thing?" he asked. I guessed about twelve or fourteen months. That settled it. He was not there to build fool tunnels to please a lot of engineers. So perfectly satisfied that the matter was settled and done with, he whirled round to his desk and went on with something else, simply remarking, "Mind you go up there yourself and take that d\_\_\_\_\_d tunnel out. Don't send anybody else."

I asked for the profile, and when I reached the door, paused for a minute and said, "While I'm up there hadn't I better move some of those mountains back, as I think they are too close to the river." The "old man" looked up for a second, said nothing, but I could see the generous proportions of his corporation shaking like a jelly. He was convulsed with laughter.

Not being a wizard in the art of changing the topography of the country, I did not even leave Winnipeg, but wired up the particulars of the offensive tunnel to one of my Divisional Engineers who was almost on the spot, and personally, I took care to avoid Van Horne.

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<sup>11</sup> Calgary Herald, July 13, 1935.



I found the engineer who had located that fatal tunnel and asked him if it was possible to avoid it or if there was any alternative line. I put many leading questions to him but he was very certain of his facts and assured me that there was no possibility of taking out the tunnel, and ended up by offering to bet his year's pay against mine that neither I nor anybody else could shift his line.

After this interview, it looked rather hopeless, until a week or two later I got a report from my Engineer on the ground, describing how on the previous Sunday, while smoking his pipe and sunning himself on the side hill, he thought he saw a little silvery cascade coming into the Bow River about half a mile below. He explored this crack in the foothills, followed the little creek, found it opened up into quite a decent valley, sent for his leveller, ran a hasty trial line over the summit, found the grade was practicable, so kept on till he rejoined the Bow River further up and not only took out the objectionable tunnel but shortened the main line some mile and a half. Such was Van Horne's luck!

- - Taken from J.H.E. Secretan, Canada's Great Highway: From the First Stake to the Last Spike (Ottawa: Thorburn and Abbott, 1924), pp. 104-7.

#### Relevance to the Scope of the Curriculum

The content of document B-3 relates almost entirely to one of the difficulties of "transporting and communicating" (Scope No. 4), namely that of overcoming a natural obstacle in the construction of the railway line.

In addition the keen power of observation of "the Engineer on the ground" in discovering the new route for the track may be construed as evidence of "observing and conserving nature" (Scope No. 7). However, as with other documents in this set, the primary emphasis is on "transporting and communicating," and the other aspects of the scope of the curriculum seem to be seldom manifested.

#### Historical Significance

In retrospect one of the most dramatic aspects of the construction



of the Canadian Pacific Railway was the rapidity of the railway construction. Yet the haste, with which construction began in 1881, meant that, at that time, the plans for the whole line were still incomplete. Major Rogers did not find the pass, now named in his honor, through the Selkirks until the summer of 1882, when the plans and surveys for the railway already showed that it would cross the Kicking Horse Pass in the Rockies. The fortunate discovery of Rogers Pass converted a poorly calculated risk into a stroke of genius with regard to the location of the railway.<sup>12</sup>

The Tunnel Mountain incident is another example of the hasty planning brought about by the urgency of construction. Glazebrook<sup>13</sup> mentions the incident to show Van Horne's concern for the speedy completion of the project.

At the same time document B-3 provides a brief glimpse of Van Horne's personality. His biographer, Walter Vaughan, describes Van Horne as "self willed, dominant and determined, gifted with a natural genius for construction and an intuitive grasp of engineering problems, and thoroughly versed in the practice of Western railways."<sup>14</sup>

Secretan's version of the Tunnel Mountain incident provides the reader with ample information to endorse Vaughan's appraisal of Van Horne, though on the basis of the information given the reader may be tempted to delete "an intuitive grasp of engineering problems" and write the word "lucky" instead.

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<sup>12</sup>Gibbon, op. cit., pp. 242-4

<sup>13</sup>Glazebrook, op. cit., p. 276.

<sup>14</sup>Walter Vaughan, Sir William Van Horne (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1926), p. 84.





Document B-4 is significant historically to this study because it represents a characteristic feature of the C.P.R. project, the haste and difficulty of construction, and because it can be used to introduce Van Horne, the man behind the construction. For these two reasons, previously identified as significant historical conclusions about the railway's construction in the summary of Chapter III, Secretan's version of this incident is acceptable to this study.

#### DOCUMENT B-4

##### The Completion of the Construction

##### Identification

The driving home of the last spike at Craigellachie on November 7, 1885 was a moment of triumph for all concerned with the railway. One man who had been involved in the Canadian Pacific project from its earliest days in 1872, was Sandford Fleming, the former engineer-in-chief of the company. As a director of the Canadian Pacific Railway, Fleming was present at Craigellachie, B.C., when Donald A. Smith, later Lord Strathcona, effected the ceremonial completion of the line. To express his satisfaction with the finish of the task he had started, Fleming sent Macdonald, the Prime Minister of Canada, a telegraph message, which is presented as document B-4.

This copy of Fleming's telegraph message, Figure 3, is taken from the original document, which is deposited with The Macdonald Papers in the Public Archives of Canada in Ottawa. A transcription of Figure 3 is given on page 135.



## CANADIAN PACIFIC RAILWAY COMPANY.

my Station, Nov 8th 1885

The following message received at 2:30 Time

By Telegraph from North Bend via Donald

To Sir John A. Macdonald

First through train from Montreal to Vancouver approaching Yale and within four hours of Pacific Coast last spike driven this morning by Donald A. Smith at Craigellachill in Eagle Pass three hundred and forty miles from Port Moody on reaching coast our running time from

Montreal including all ordinary stoppages will be exactly five days averaging twenty four miles per hour before long passenger trains may run over railway from Montreal to Vancouver in four days and quite possible to travel specially from Liverpool to Pacific Coast by Canadian

## CANADIAN PACIFIC RAILWAY COMPANY.

53571

By Telegraph from The following at Time 1885

By Telegraph from

To

Canadian

Transcontinental line in ten days we are greatly pleased with the work done it is impossible to realize the enormous physical and other difficulties have been overcome with such marvellous rapidity and with results so satisfactory

Sanford Fleming





## The Completion of the Construction

### Transcription of Fleming's Telegram

Canadian Pacific Railway Company

Nov. 8th, 1885.

By Telegraph from North Bend via Donald, B.C.7.  
To Sir John A. Macdonald.

First through train from Montreal to Vancouver approaching Yale and within five hours of Pacific Coast. Last spike driven this morning by Donald A. Smith at Craigellachie in Eagle Pass three hundred and forty miles from Port Moody. On reaching Coast our running time from Montreal including all ordinary stoppages will be exactly five days averaging twenty four miles per hour. Before long passenger trains may run over [the] railway from Montreal to Vancouver in four days and quite possible to travel specially from Liverpool to Pacific Coast by Canadian transcontinental line in ten days. We are greatly pleased with the work done. It is impossible to realize the enormous physical and other difficulties that have been overcome with such marvellous rapidity and with results so satisfactory.

San[d]ford Fleming

### Relevance to the Scope of the Curriculum

Fleming's telegraph message is concerned almost entirely with news of the completion of the construction and with details regarding the operation of the company. In terms of the scope of the curriculum only the problem of "transporting and communicating" (Scope No. 4) is considered. Furthermore, the nature of the communication, a telegram, adds another dimension to the same aspect of the scope of the curriculum.

### Historical Significance

The nailing down of the last spike on the Canadian Pacific transcontinental line symbolized a new era in Canadian history. The end of construction marked the beginning of railway services, as Fleming notes in his estimate of the time a passenger train would take from Montreal



to Vancouver. Yet the service meant more than a trans-Canada connection. As Vaughan<sup>15</sup> has pointed out ". . .the blows that drove the iron home reverberated around the Empire. . . .", a feature that Fleming was aware of as his time estimate of a journey from Liverpool, England, to the Pacific coast and its sea connections with the Orient indicates.

It is also significant to note that this telegram was addressed to Sir John A. Macdonald, the Prime Minister of Canada. Macbeth asserts that Macdonald "was the real originator of the plan and in the end gave it his powerful assistance in the days of stress."<sup>16</sup> In essence this is true, and so it is not unnatural that Fleming should wire to Macdonald a message which announced the fulfilment of his railway building plan.

Not only was the railway completed, but the promises of Confederation were finally being met by the rail connection of British Columbia to the rest of Canada. For Macdonald it meant, as he said himself, that his work was done.<sup>17</sup> A further exposition of Macdonald's policy is given in the assessment of document B-6.

Much has been written about the completion of the construction of the railway. Innis has described the event as a "significant landmark in the spread of civilization throughout Canada."<sup>18</sup> The changes in the

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<sup>15</sup>Ibid., p. 136.

<sup>16</sup>R.G. Macbeth, The Romance of the Canadian Pacific Railway (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1924), p. 145.

<sup>17</sup>Gibbon, op. cit., p. 302.      <sup>18</sup>Innis, op. cit., p. 128.



character of the areas traversed, he notes, can be described "narrowly as Canadian, and typically, Western."<sup>19</sup> He is referring mainly to the spread of settlement in the West, an aspect of the railway's completion that is developed by the documents in Set C.

Glazebrook writes that the completion of the enterprise ". . . was made possible only by the successful (if somewhat tempestuous) marriage of private enterprise with public support"<sup>20</sup> and again it is not unreasonable to generalize that much of this public support came from Macdonald, to whom this telegram was addressed.

Finally this telegram mentions two persons, Donald A. Smith and Sandford Fleming, who made important contributions to the development of the project. Smith, as a member of the **Syndicate**, was important for his handling of many financial and political manoeuvres for the company. Fleming, on the other hand, had been responsible for all the surveys undertaken by the company between 1872 and 1879 when a suitable route for the line was being located, and for the construction of the 700 miles of track built before the Syndicate became responsible for the construction. As an introduction in this study to these two important figures in Canadian history this document makes a significant contribution.

Document B-4 in this study acts as a transition not only in the history of the Canadian Pacific Railway as it moved from being a constructional company to becoming an operational enterprise, but also in the history of the nation as the Confederation concept became stronger and the country prepared itself for the rush of immigration.

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<sup>19</sup>Ibid.      <sup>20</sup>Glazebrook, op. cit., p. 282.





## DOCUMENT B-5

## C.P.R. Facilities and Prices, 1888

Identification

Both the advertisements comprising document B-5, Figures 4 and 5, are taken from a C.P.R. travel publication, entitled The Canadian Pacific Railway--a New Highway to the East Across the Mountains, Prairies and Rivers of Canada, which was published in 1888.

A copy of this publication is kept in the Glenbow Foundation Library and Archives in Calgary.

Relevance to the Scope of the Curriculum

Taken together, the two advertisements could be used to deduce generalized ideas about railway travel in the 1880's and to show the C.P.R.'s concern for its passengers in the areas of "getting and preparing food" (Scope No. 1), "providing shelter" (Scope No. 2), "transporting. . ." (Scope No. 4) and "guarding health, welfare and safety" (Scope No. 5).

The general theme of the sleeping car advertisement, Figure 4, is "providing shelter" in the sense of having a place to sleep on the journey across Canada. Included in the advertisement are a number of references to sanitary provisions for passengers, such as the bath rooms, the double doors and windows, and the bedding supplies, which may be construed as evidence of the company's concern for "guarding the health, welfare and safety" of passengers.

The other advertisement, Figure 5, is about the company's dining





# THE CANADIAN PACIFIC RAILWAY.

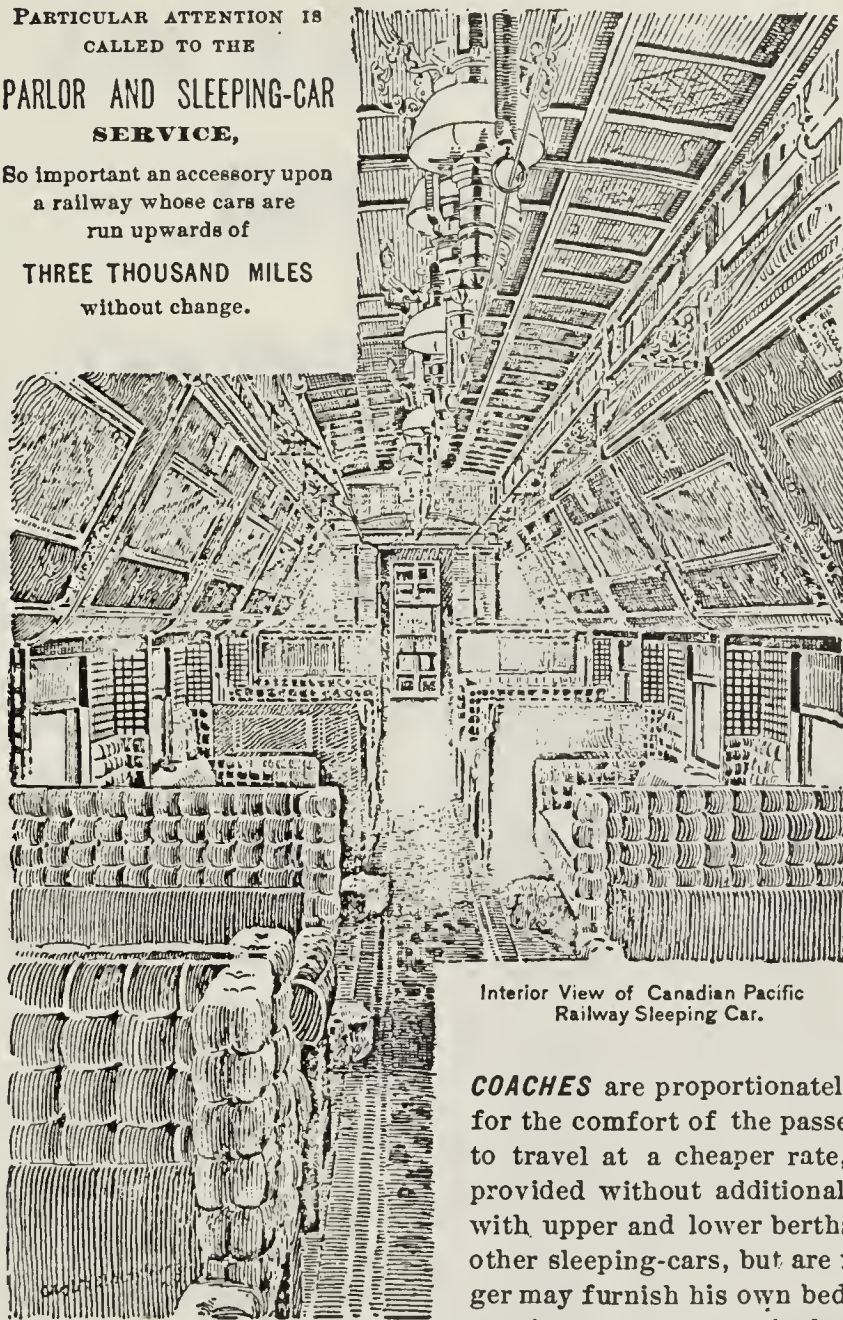
THE IMPERIAL HIGHWAY FROM THE ATLANTIC TO THE PACIFIC.

The Newest, The Most Solidly Constructed and the Best Equipped Transcontinental Route.

PARTICULAR ATTENTION IS  
CALLED TO THE  
**PARLOR AND SLEEPING-CAR  
SERVICE,**

So important an accessory upon  
a railway whose cars are  
run upwards of

**THREE THOUSAND MILES**  
without change.



Interior View of Canadian Pacific  
Railway Sleeping Car.

These cars are of unusual strength and size, with berths, smoking and toilet accommodations correspondingly roomy. The transcontinental sleeping-cars are provided with

## BATH ROOMS,

and all are fitted with double doors and windows to exclude the dust in summer and the cold in winter.

The seats are richly upholstered, with high backs and arms, and the central sections are made into luxurious sofas during the day.

The upper berths are provided with windows and ventilators, and have curtains separate from those of the berths beneath. The exteriors are of polished red mahogany, and the interiors are of white mahogany and satinwood, elaborately carved; while the lamps, brackets, berth-locks, and other pieces of metal work, are of old brass of antique design.

## THE FIRST-CLASS DAY

**COACHES** are proportionately elaborate in their arrangement for the comfort of the passenger; and, for those who desire to travel at a cheaper rate, **COLONIST SLEEPING CARS** are provided without additional charge. These cars are fitted with upper and lower berths after the same general style as other sleeping-cars, but are not upholstered, and the passenger may furnish his own bedding, or purchase it of the Company's agents at terminal stations at nominal rates. The

entire passenger equipment is *matchless* in elegance and comfort.

## FIRST-CLASS SLEEPING AND PARLOR CAR TARIFF.

FOR ONE LOWER OR ONE UPPER BERTH IN SLEEPING CAR BETWEEN

Quebec and Montreal.....\$1.50	Pt. Arthur & Vancouver.\$15.00	Boston and Montreal.....\$2.00
Montreal and Toronto.....2.00	Toronto and Chicago.....3.00	New York and Montreal....2.00
Montreal and Winnipeg....8.00	Toronto and Detroit.....2.00	Chicago and St. Paul.....2.00
Montreal and Vancouver...20.00	Toronto and Winnipeg.....8.00	St. Paul and Winnipeg....3.00
Ottawa and Toronto.....2.00	Toronto and Vancouver...18.50	St. Paul and Vancouver...13.50
Ottawa and Vancouver...20.00		Winnipeg and Vancouver.12.00

FOR ONE SEAT IN PARLOR CAR BETWEEN

Quebec and Montreal.....\$0.75	Montreal and Toronto....\$1.00	Toronto and Owen Sound.\$0.50
Three Rivers and Montreal .50	Ottawa and Toronto.....1.00	Toronto and St. Thomas.... .50
Montreal and Ottawa..... .50	Peterboro' and Toronto.... .25	Toronto and Detroit.....1.00

Between other stations rates are in proportion. Accommodation in First-Class Sleeping Cars and in Parlor Cars will be sold only to holders of First-Class transportation.

Figure 4. C.P.R. Advertisement—Parlor and Sleeping Car Service, 1888  
(Glenbow Foundation Library and Archives).





# THE CANADIAN PACIFIC RAILWAY

## DINING CARS

*Excel in Elegance of Design and Furniture*

AND IN THE

*Quality of Food and Attendance*

ANYTHING HITHERTO OFFERED TO

TRANSCONTINENTAL TRAVELLERS.

The fare provided is the best procurable, and the cooking has a wide reputation for excellence. Local delicacies, such as trout, prairie hens, antelope steaks, Fraser River salmon, succeed one another as the train moves westward.

The wines are of the Company's special importation, and are of the finest quality.

These cars accompany all transcontinental trains, and are managed directly by the Railway Company, which seeks, as with its hotels and sleeping cars, to provide every comfort and luxury without regard to cost—looking to the general

profit of the Railway rather than to the immediate returns from these branches of its service



Figure 5. C.P.R. Advertisement--Dining Cars,, 1888 (Glenbow Foundation Library and Archives).





cars, and offerings, such as prairie hens, Fraser River salmon, antelope steaks, and wines, indicate how the problem of "getting and preparing food" was handled.

Jointly the two parts of this document provide information on some of the problems of "transporting. . ." (Scope No. 4). In consequence these two advertisements seem to illustrate how some of the railway travellers' basic needs were met.

### Historical Significance

The two advertisements of sleeping and dining facilities on the Canadian Pacific's transcontinental line are significant inasmuch as they are representative of the conditions and services offered by the company in 1888.

Both advertisements suggest conclusions about the period that other historians have noted. On the parlor and sleeping car advertisement the sub-title, "The Imperial Highway from the Atlantic to the Pacific," reflects the popular interest that the era of "new Imperialism,"<sup>21</sup> characterised by Queen Victoria's Diamond Jubilee and the first Colonial Conference in London in 1887,<sup>22</sup> had revived in the Empire. As early as 1879, Sir Charles Tupper, the Canadian Minister of Railways, had steered through the House of Commons a resolution which read:

. . .that the Pacific Railway would form an Imperial Highway across the Continent of America entirely on British soil, and would form a new and important route from England to Australia, to India and to all the dependencies of Great Britain in the Pacific, as also to

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<sup>21</sup>David Thomson, England in the Nineteenth Century (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1950), pp. 203-212.

<sup>22</sup>Ibid., p. 211.



China and Japan.<sup>23</sup>

Both Stephen,<sup>24</sup> the C.P.R. president, and Macdonald,<sup>25</sup> the Prime Minister of Canada, subscribed to the idea of the railway forming an essential link between Great Britain and the Orient. It is not surprising, therefore, that the company used this idea in its advertising.

The elaborateness of Victorian dress, railway accommodation and furnishings, as depicted and described by the two advertisements, is another significant historical feature that attracts the attention of the modern reader.

In addition the references to "bath rooms. . .richly upholstered seats. . .old brass of antique design. . .local delicacies. . .and wines. . . of the first quality" provide useful indicators of the contemporaneous symbols of social status, if one accepts the premise that a part of the advertiser's technique is to appeal to a person's social aspirations.

For the reasons given above, document B-5 is felt by the investigator to make a significant historical contribution to a clearer understanding of the period, and of the early operations of the railway.

#### DOCUMENT B-6

##### A Unique Mountain Journey

##### Identification

1886 was the year that the Canadian Pacific Railway Company

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<sup>23</sup>Gibbon, op. cit., p. 191.      <sup>24</sup>Ibid., p. 305.

<sup>25</sup>Creighton, op. cit., p. 460.





put its first transcontinental passenger service into operation. Many distinguished people, including Sir John A. Macdonald, the Prime Minister of Canada, and Lady Agnes Macdonald, his wife, travelled across Canada from the Atlantic to the Pacific for the first time during that year.

Lady Agnes Macdonald later described the journey with her husband in an account, which was published by Murray's Magazine in February and March 1887. For most of the journey the Prime Minister's party travelled in a special Pullman, "Jamaica", provided by Van Horne, the General Manager of the C.P.R., for the occasion.<sup>26</sup> However, when the train reached Lake Louise in the Rockies, Lady Agnes Macdonald prevailed upon the company's officials and her husband to be allowed to ride on the front of the locomotive perched on a candle box placed on the cowcatcher. Her description of this "mad ride" (her words) through the Kicking Horse Pass is given in document B-6, taken from the March 1887 issue of Murray's Magazine.

#### A Unique Mountain Journey

From Calgary to Laggan I had travelled in the car of the engine, accompanied by a victimized official. Perched on a little feather bench, well in front, and close to the small windows, I had enjoyed an excellent opportunity of seeing everything. Besides this, I had gained a great deal of useful information about engines, boilers, signals, etc., which may come in "handy" some day. During our stoppages the engineer and firemen had not failed to explain these things, and I had even ventured to whistle "caution" at a "crossing." The signal went very well for an amateur, but the Chief's\* quick ear had detected a falter, and at the next halt he sent a peremptory message, desiring me "not to play tricks," which,

\*'The Chief' was Sir John A. Macdonald

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<sup>26</sup>Macdonald Papers, (M.G. 26, A 1 (Q), Vol. 288), Van Horne to Lady Macdonald, July 7, 1886.



addressed to a discreet matron, was really quite insulting. I had even questioned the engineer as to the probable effect of a bad collision while I occupied this post. He promptly suggested, "most likely killed;" and added, reflectively, as he carefully oiled an already dripping valve, "which would be a bad job"!

When I announced my desire to travel on the cowcatcher, Mr. E \_\_\_\_\_ seemed to think that a very bad job indeed. To a sensible, level-headed man as he is, such an innovation on all general rules of travelling decorum was no doubt very startling. He used many ineffectual persuasions to induce me to abandon the idea, and almost said I should not run so great a risk; but at last, being a man of few words, and seeing time was nearly up, he so far relented as to ask what I proposed using as a seat. Glancing round the station platform I beheld a small empty candle-box lying near, and at once declared that was "just the thing." Before Mr. E \_\_\_\_\_ could expostulate further, I had asked a brakesman to place the candle-box on the buffer-beam, and was on my way to the "Jamaica" to ask the Chief's permission. The Chief, seated on a low chair on the rear platform of the car, with a rug over his knees and a magazine in his hand, looked very comfortable and content. Hearing my request, after a moment's thought, he pronounced the idea "rather ridiculous", then remembered it was dangerous as well, and finally asked if I was sure I could hold on. Before the words were well out of his lips, and taking permission for granted by the question, I was again standing by the cowcatcher, admiring the position of the candle-box, and anxiously asking to be helped on.

Before I take my seat, let me try, briefly, to describe the "Cowcatcher." Of course every one knows that the buffer-beam is that narrow, heavy iron platform, with the sides scooped out, as it were, on the very fore-front of the engine over which the headlight glares, and in the corner of which a little flag is generally placed. In English engines, I believe, the buffers proper project from the front of this beam. In Canadian engines another sort of attachment is arranged, immediately below the beam by which the engine can draw trains backwards as well as forwards. The beam is about eight feet across, at the widest part, and about three feet deep. The description of a cowcatcher is less easy. To begin with, it is misnamed, for it catches no cows at all. Sometimes, I understand, it throws up on the buffer-beam whatever maimed or mangled animal it has struck, but in most cases it clears the line by shoving forward, or tossing aside any removable obstruction. It is best described as a sort of barred iron beak, about six feet long, projecting close over the track in a V shape, and attached to the buffer-beam by very strong bolts. It is sometimes sheathed with thin iron plates in winter, and acts then as a small snow-plough.

Behold me now, enthroned on the candle-box, with a soft felt hat well over my eyes, and a linen carriage-cover tucked round me from waist to foot. Mr. E \_\_\_\_\_ had seated himself on the other side of the headlight. He had succumbed to the inevitable, ceased further







expostulation, disclaimed all responsibility, and, like the jewel of a Superintendent he was, had decided on sharing my peril! I turn to him, peeping round the headlight, with my best smile. "This is lovely," I triumphantly announce, seeing that a word of comfort is necessary, "quite lovely; I shall travel on this cowcatcher from summit to sea!"

Mr. Superintendent, in his turn, peeps round the headlight and surveys me with solemn and resigned surprise. "I--suppose--you--will," he says slowly, and I see that he is hoping, at any rate, that I shall live to do it!

With a mighty snort, a terribly big throb, and a shrieking whistle, No. 374 moves slowly forward. The very small population of Laggan have all come out to see. They stand in the hot sunshine, and shade their eyes as the stately engine moves on. "It is an awful thing to do!" I hear a voice say, as the little group lean forward; and for a moment I feel a thrill that is very like fear; but it is gone at once, and I can think of nothing but the novelty, the excitement, and the fun of this mad ride in glorious sunshine and intoxicating air, with magnificent mountains before and around me, their lofty peaks smiling down on us, and never a frown on their grand faces!

The pace quickens gradually, surely, swiftly, and then we are rushing up to the summit. We soon stand on the "Great Divide"--5300 feet above sea-level--between the two great oceans. As we pass, Mr. E\_\_\_\_\_ by a gesture, points out a small river (called Bath Creek, I think) which, issuing from a lake on the narrow summit-level, winds near the track. I look, and lo! the water, flowing eastward towards the Atlantic side, turns in a moment as the Divide is passed, and pours westward down the Pacific slope!

Another moment and a strange silence has fallen round us. With steam shut off and brakes down, the 60-ton engine, by its own weight and impetus alone, glides into the pass of the Kicking Horse River, and begins a descent of 2800 feet in twelve miles. We rush onward through the vast valley stretching before us, bristling with lofty forests, dark and deep, that, clinging to the mountain side, are reared up into the sky. The river, widening, grows white with dashing foam, and rushes downwards with tremendous force. Sun-light flashes on glaciers, into gorges, and athwart huge, towering masses of rock crowned with magnificent tree crests that rise all round us of every size and shape. Breathless--almost awe-stricken--but with a wild triumph in my heart, I look from farthest mountain peak, lifted high before me, to the shining pebbles at my feet! Warm wind rushes past; a thousand sunshine colours dance in the air. With a firm right hand grasping the iron stanchion, and my feet planted on the buffer beam, there was not a yard of that descent in which I faltered for a moment. If I had, then assuredly in the wild valley of the Kicking Horse River, on the western slope of the Rocky Mountains, a life had gone out that day! I did not think of danger,



or remember what a giddy post I had. I could only gaze at the glaciers that the mountains held so closely, 5000 feet above us, at the trace of snow avalanches which had left a space a hundred feet wide massed with torn and prostrate trees; on the shadows that played over the distant peaks; and on a hundred rainbows made by the foaming, dashing river, which swirls with tremendous rapidity down the gorge on its way to the Columbia in the valley below.

There is glory of brightness and beauty everywhere, and I laugh aloud on the cowcatcher, just because it is all so delightful!

- - Taken from Lady Agnes Macdonald, "By Car and Cowcatcher," Murray's Magazine, March 1887, pp. 296-299.

### Relevance to the Scope of the Curriculum

Although, in terms of the scope of the curriculum, Lady Macdonald's description of her ride through the Rockies focuses only on the need to "observe. . . nature" (Scope No. 7), the document does raise some questions about individual human behavior. One particular question involves the proper role of persons connected with leading figures in the government and the part they play in the ceremonial aspects of "governing and protecting" (Scope No. 6). As the wife of the Prime Minister of Canada, Lady Macdonald was obliged to undertake certain responsibilities in the ceremony of public appearance. This document provides evidence of her acknowledgement of these responsibilities. Another interesting issue developed in this document concerns the proper regard for "guarding health, welfare and safety" (Scope No. 5). The author of the document seems quite well aware of the consequences of her act for she writes "If I had [faltered]. . . a life had [would have] gone out that day."

The account, therefore, provides an interesting opportunity to examine the different roles of persons connected with the government,





and the motivation for individual behavior, although it is admitted, that few aspects of the scope of the curriculum are covered by document B-6.

### Historical Significance

The description, given in Document B-6, of Lady Macdonald's ride on the cowcatcher of the engine portrays what must have been a unique incident in Canadian railway history. However, the significance of this document is less in what it describes than in what it represents. For over fifteen years the building of a railway to the Pacific had been one of Sir John A. Macdonald's major policy objectives. According to Creighton, Macdonald's plans for a "truly national economy, integrated and diversified" depended on "the settlement of the west, the development of eastern industry and the building of an all-Canadian transcontinental railway."<sup>27</sup> The completion of the latter aim increased the possibilities of fulfilling the other two. Comprehension of the reality of this achievement was reinforced for Macdonald by undertaking this transcontinental journey. Although he did not travel on the first transcontinental passenger train which left Montreal in June 1886, Macdonald's journey two weeks later represents one of the most impressive political triumphs of his career. Creighton describes Macdonald's reasons for making the trip.

The journey would give him [Macdonald] a badly needed holiday, a knowledge of the great new country he was creating, a chance to show himself to its new inhabitants and to quiet the rising storm of their protests in Manitoba.<sup>29</sup>

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<sup>27</sup>Creighton, op. cit., p. 445.

<sup>28</sup>Ibid., p. 458.





Macdonald's success in meeting these purposes is recorded by his wife in other parts of the article from which this selection is taken. A list of alternative selections, illustrating similar ideas to those given in this document, is included in Appendix B.

Therefore, document B-6, describing a unique occurrence on one of the earliest Canadian transcontinental journeys is historically significant because it represents not only the beginning of effective operation of the line, but the fruition of a part of Macdonald's plans for consolidating Confederation also.

#### SUMMARY

The six documents that comprise Set B are those that were retained after twelve documents were examined by the investigator for their relevance to the topics listed in the Alberta elementary and junior high school curriculum guides, and by the panel of experienced teachers for their suitability as social studies resource materials in the intermediate grades.

The themes that dominate this Set relate to the construction and early operation of the Canadian Pacific Railway in the 1880's. Although the construction of the railway was essentially a national project, the documents used in this Set concentrate for the most part on those company activities which also have a relevance to local Alberta history, especially of the Calgary area. The building of the railway was a most decisive event in the growth of Calgary. The documents in Set A have described the prevailing conditions in the Calgary area prior to the



railway's arrival. The documents in Set C describe the changes that took place in Calgary after 1883, when the railway arrived there, up to 1890. Set B acts as a transition between Sets A and C and describes some of the difficulties arising from the construction and operation of the railway. As Calgary began to grow quite rapidly before the transcontinental line had been completed in 1885 and regular passenger services began in 1886, parts of the time sequence in Sets B and C overlap. The unavailability of documents describing the company's operations and services prior to 1888 made this overlapping necessary.

The content of the documents in Set B, taken as a whole, refers to seven different content areas concerning basic human needs and problems, as identified by the scope of the Alberta social studies curriculum. The dominant area of concern is "transporting and communicating" (Scope No. 4) as would be expected from six documents about the railway. However, information is also contained in several of the documents on the provision of food, shelter, and government while guarding health and safety, observing nature, and expressing ideals through religion are also considered. These documents, therefore, provide ample material for an investigation of the social conditions connected with railway building.

A major intent in the selection of documents was to treat those aspects of the construction of the railway that qualified historians, interested in the same subject, have found to be significant.

Of the conclusions listed in the concluding statement of Chapter III, supporting evidence is provided by the documents in Set B





for the six given below.

Conclusion 1. The building of the C.P.R. from the Atlantic to the Pacific symbolized the national unity of the provinces and territories in the Dominion of Canada.

The national import of the completion of the railway is identifiable from two documents, B-4 and B-6. Fleming's telegram to Macdonald, document B-4, with its emphasis on the transcontinental connection provides partial evidence for the national interest in the railway. Document B-6, a part of Lady Macdonald's account of her transcontinental journey with her husband, the Prime Minister of Canada, is representative of the triumph of her husband's railway policy, through which he had hoped to tighten the loose bonds of Confederation.

Conclusion 3. The C.P.R. was an important link in the network of imperial connections stretching from England across Canada to the Orient and Australasia.

Fleming's telegram, document B-4, provides partial evidence for this conclusion by estimating the probable travelling time from Liverpool to the Pacific. The C.P.R. advertisement, document B-5, Figure 4, makes an explicit statement about the "Imperial highway."

Conclusion 6. The line from Callander, Ontario, to Port Moody, B.C., was built at a rate that surpassed the expectations of the early planners.

Ormiston's reminiscence of the construction era, document B-1, provides considerable evidence to support this conclusion, and Fleming, in his telegram to Macdonald, document B-4, makes an explicit statement



about the rapidity of the construction.

Conclusion 7. The rapidity of the construction phase was chiefly due to the efforts and administration of William Van Horne.

The influence of William Van Horne on the construction of the railway is quite apparent from the evidence provided in document B-3, Secretan's account of the Tunnel Mountain problem.

Conclusion 8. The urgency of the construction and the decision to re-route the line across the southern prairie and through the Kicking Horse Pass induced hasty and incomplete planning of the whole line, and in consequence a number of unforeseen engineering problems arose.

The Tunnel Mountain problem, described in document B-3, is representative of the engineering problems induced by hasty and incomplete planning. Further supporting evidence of this conclusion is provided by Ormiston in document B-1, in which he discusses some of the difficulties caused by rivers and mountains in the region.

Conclusion 9. Throughout the construction phase, the C.P.R. was troubled by human, engineering, financial and political problems.

Each of the first three documents in the Set, Ormiston's reminiscences, the investment article and the account of the Tunnel Mountain problem, contributes evidence in support of the human, financial and engineering aspects, respectively, of the conclusion.

Collectively the documents in Set B provide evidence for some of the significant conclusions of historians. In most instances two or three documents provide supplementary evidence with respect to the same conclusion. The single documents seldom provide sufficient evidence to



formulate a conclusion that historians have already reached. The provision of a historical contextual framework, therefore, is a prerequisite to the formulation of historical conclusions from an examination of single documents, or small collections of documents.





## CHAPTER VII

### ASSESSMENT OF SET C

#### DOCUMENTS ON THE EARLY GROWTH OF CALGARY

##### UP TO 1890

Set C consists of six documents, each of which has been selected because it related to some aspect of the growth of Calgary in the period after the arrival of the railway in 1883, and up to 1890.

The areas of interest on which the documents focus are the arrival of the railway, the first issue of the local newspaper, the school, the sale of land, the opportunities for farming and the scope of business. The effects on the Calgary area of the 1885 Rebellion are recorded in one document also. The documents are arranged chronologically to illustrate the stages of growth in the community except for the document referring to the 1885 Rebellion, which, as an extract from a diary, is retained with others by the same author.

The six documents are:

1. Three Selections from George Murdoch's Diary--describing three events of consequence to Calgary.
2. The First Newspaper in Calgary--a copy of the front page of the first issue of the Calgary Herald.
3. The Beginning of Education in Calgary--a number of short items arranged to illustrate the steps taken to provide education in Calgary.
4. C.P.R. Experimental Farms, 1884--the covers of a promotional publication designed to stimulate C.P.R. land sales.



5. District of Alberta, N.W.T.--extracts from a Government promotional pamphlet written for prospective farmers in 1884.
6. Early Advertisements of Calgary Businesses--a page of advertisements from an 1890 magazine.

A number of other documents related to the growth of Calgary in the period 1883 - 1890 were located but were not included in this assessment because they either duplicated another source or failed to meet the requirements of the established criteria. An annotated list of other available sources related to the growth of Calgary is provided in Appendix C. As in the case of both Sets A and B, the documents were first considered in terms of their relevance to the curriculum sequence by the investigator, and then an assessment of each document's suitability was made by a panel of experienced teachers. Only those documents which were not found to be unsuitable were retained for assessment in terms of the scope of the curriculum and of historical significance. The assessment of the documents' relevance to the curriculum sequence, and of their suitability for intermediate grade students is reported for the set as a whole, while the assessment of relevance to the scope of the curriculum and of historical significance is reported for each document in the set.

#### Relevance to the Alberta Curriculum Sequence

All the documents in this set focus on the early growth and settlement of Calgary. Reference to the Alberta curriculum guides for Social Studies in the intermediate grades shows that this set can be





studied in connection with the same five topics as outlined for Set A.<sup>1</sup> It should be pointed out, however, that in studying pioneer settlement in the local community in Grades IV and VII, these documents would have little significance for students living in parts of the province, other than Calgary, unless that area was selected for a historical sample study, or for a comparison with their own community.

#### Suitability for Students in the Intermediate Grades

Initially eight documents were included in the set now designated Set C. The complete set was submitted to each member of the panel of experienced teachers for a personal assessment of the suitability of these documents as social studies materials in the intermediate grades. A summary of the teachers' assessment of the materials in Set C is given in Table III.

TABLE III

A SUMMARY OF THE ASSESSMENTS OF THE SUITABILITY OF THE DOCUMENTS  
IN SET C BY A PANEL OF FIVE TEACHERS

Document		Teachers					Conclusion
Original Number	New Number	A.	B.	C.	D.	E.	
D-1	C-1	yes	yes	yes	no	yes	retained
D-2	C-2	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	retained
D-3	C-3	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	retained
D-4		yes	yes	no	yes	no	rejected
D-5	C-4	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	retained
D-6	C-5	yes	yes	yes	no	yes	retained
D-7		yes	no	yes	no	yes	rejected
D-8	C-6	yes	yes	no	yes	yes	retained

<sup>1</sup>Reference to Chapter V, p. 82.



Two documents, the original D-4 and the original D-7, were rejected from the study because they were not considered to be suitable social studies resource materials in the intermediate grade by at least four of the five panel members.

The remaining six documents were retained, were re-numbered to maintain continuity of numbering, and were then assessed for relevance to the scope of the curriculum and for historical significance.

Reports of the latter assessments are given for each document in the sections that follow.

#### DOCUMENT C-1

##### Three Selections From George Murdoch's Diary

##### Identification

George Murdoch came from New Brunswick. According to MacEwen,<sup>2</sup> Murdoch was born in Paisley, Scotland, and came to Canada when he was four years old with his parents. He was an extremely active man, having successfully conducted a business in Chicago until the Great Fire of 1871. In 1883 he moved to Winnipeg, but unable to find any attractive business propositions there, he decided to proceed to Fort Calgary. His diary began on Tuesday, April 17, 1883. The diary continues for the next three and a half years, mainly describing Murdoch's work in Calgary. Murdoch's entries in the diary tend to be brief and factual, providing a good deal of concise information on daily routine life in early Calgary.

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<sup>2</sup>Grant MacEwen, Calgary Cavalcade (Edmonton: Institute of Applied Art, 1958), p. 69.



Towards the end of the diary, the entries become fragmentary and the reporting of routine events tends to become monotonous.

Murdoch was most active in the affairs of the town during the first three years of his residence in Calgary. An extract from the introduction to Murdoch's diary by an unknown writer describes his early work.

George Murdoch was one of the first settlers in Calgary. When he arrived there in the company of Mr. McKay, May 13, 1883, there were only three or four buildings in the place--the barracks of the N.W.M.P., a butcher's shop, and a couple of general stores.

Murdoch was a harness maker and immediately began to do a large amount of business with the Mounted Police and with the Blackfoot Indians.

Settlers also flocked in when the railway reached Calgary a few weeks after Murdoch's arrival. In all the early activities, Murdoch took a leading part. . .and became the first Mayor of Calgary.<sup>3</sup>

The three pages selected from Murdoch's diary describe different events in his early years in Calgary. His record of his own arrival, the coming of the railway and the anxious days at the beginning of the North West Rebellion make his diary an important source of information on the beginnings of the Calgary community.

This diary is presently deposited in The Public Archives of Canada at Ottawa and a microfilm copy is available at the Glenbow Foundation Library and Archives in Calgary.

Document C-1 is comprised of Figures 6, 7 and 8 on the following pages.

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<sup>3</sup>An Extract from the Introduction Diary and Papers of George Murdoch 1883-1886 (Original in Public Archives of Canada, Ottawa. Glenbow Foundation Microfilm, March, 1959).





1883

Sunday May 13<sup>th</sup> - Rain and snow, eat cold grub in waggon and started at 7 a.m. Lighted Calgary at 10.30 a.m. Got stuck on banks of Crow Creek and had to get chain and yank out from the bank. Reached Calgary at 11.30 a.m. and camped opposite the fort. Cooked scones in waggon and kept fire all day on account of rain. Lots of dead cows all along the banks of the river Bow, rotting & stinking. In the evening went back two miles and called out Thomas & McLeans Outfit.

Monday - May 14<sup>th</sup> - Forged the river to the fort side and rigged up waggon box and borrowed tent for a temporary habitation. Major Dowling called on me, a fine old gentleman, knows Uncle well. Bought a loaf of Bread at the Fort, 25<sup>cts</sup> Baked scone, prospects good, have to repair harness in tent, very awkward as my head touches the roof. Calgary bottom is the finest natural town site I ever saw.

Tuesday - May 15<sup>th</sup> - Had two jobs of repairing, charge like the Mexicans as a dollar is handled here like 25<sup>cts</sup> at

Figure 6. George Murdoch's Diary: Murdoch's Arrival at Calgary, May 1883  
(Public Archives of Canada).



1883

Saturday August 11<sup>th</sup> - Foggy - cool -  
 Ther. 50 - Then warm - 84, Loaned McNeill  
 \$10 - and Johnson's order for \$4 - The  
 train crossed the Bow - and con-  
 structed and ran to the Elbow.  
 The Telegraph was along with them.  
 Got my goods from D & F and took  
 them over to the Shack -

Sunday - August 12<sup>th</sup> - Clear, warm.  
 Ther. 85 - Building bridge over Elbow  
 all day - A big bustle all day  
 so many railway men around from  
 the construction train, Horse and foot  
 racing all day.

Monday August 13<sup>th</sup> - Cool, blowing, then  
 warm - Ther. 84 - L & Co. finished contract  
 on C.P.R. today - The men struck  
 work and the Company would not  
 give them passes. Appealed to the  
 Police, no go - Then boarded car.  
 Police put them off - place crowded.

Tuesday - August 14<sup>th</sup> - Cool, then warmer.  
 Senator Scott is around here  
 viewing things. Sent Telegram to  
 Uncle [Rail and Telegraph both here]  
 "I'm well, how's all"? Then took  
 Operator to Half Breed dance -

Figure 7. George Murdoch's Diary: The Railway Arrives at Calgary, August, 1883. (Public Archives of Canada).







1885

Friday Dec. 27<sup>th</sup>. Clear, fine, mild.  
Attending to civic matters. Called on  
Dowling. Sent telegram to White, Ottawa.  
Evening at I.O.O.F. Lodge. Then at  
Fort. Home at 12 P.M.

Saturday Dec. 28<sup>th</sup> Clear-fine. News  
from Prince Albert of ten men killed  
and 12, wounded. Recd despatch from  
Wife. Gave Bills of samples & Pettit to  
Dowling. Evening attended mass meeting  
and organized home guards and  
telegraphed for arms.

Sunday Dec. 29<sup>th</sup> Clear, fine, mild.  
Great excitement all day. Telegrams  
and reports of uprisings among Indians  
formed home guard and swore  
in 104 men under Walker. Barvis,  
Lauder and myself armed patrols out  
all night under Barvis & Lauder.

Monday Dec. 30<sup>th</sup> Clear, fine.  
Telegram from Gen Middleton, Steel &  
Shields. Preparations making. Lt. La-  
combe came tonight from crossing and  
reported all well. Just as I had  
been saying all along. Evening at  
Fort. Evening, <sup>home</sup> at 12 P.M. Levee on.

Figure 8. George Murdoch's Diary; Unrest in Calgary March 1885.  
(Public Archives of Canada).



Relevance to the Scope of the Curriculum

As an individual establishing a new home for himself, George Murdoch was confronted by many of the problems of fulfilling basic human needs. His complete diary provides information on all ten aspects of scope of the curriculum, and the three pages selected cover at least eight aspects of the scope.

Murdoch's entry for May 13, 1883 shows how he prepared his food while travelling, and the entry for May 14 mentions the price of bread in Calgary and suggests that cost was one of the limitations on "getting and preparing food" (Scope No. 1). Through successive stages, beginning with his waggon (May 13), moving into a tent (May 14) and finishing in a wooden shack (August 11), Murdoch illustrates how he provided himself with shelter (Scope No. 2). The waggon was also used for transportation, but with the arrival of the railway and the telegraph (August 11), Murdoch had at his disposal improved means of "transportation and communication" (Scope No. 4).

References to "governing and protecting" (Scope No. 6) are quite plentiful in his diary. Murdoch's own involvement in civic affairs (March 27, 1885) and his organizing of the Home Guard (March 28) during the North West Rebellion are just two instances of the means of "providing government and protection" (Scope No. 6) in the pioneer community of Calgary.

The problem of "observing and conserving nature" (Scope No. 7) is suggested by the reference to the dead cows which greeted his arrival at Calgary (May 13). Murdoch's success as a harness maker and his interest





in public affairs shows how he had been educated for adult duties and jobs (Scope No. 8). He also records in his diary the means of "enjoying recreation, play and leisure" (Scope No. 9) whether it was horse and foot racing (August 12) or dancing (August 14). Finally his mention of Father Lacombe (March 30, 1885) reveals that the religious life of the community (Scope No. 10) was receiving attention.

The breadth of content on this document provides ample evidence of the problems encountered by Murdoch in attempting to satisfy those basic needs, itemized in the Alberta curriculum.

### Historical Significance

George Murdoch has been described by MacEwen as the "Father of a City."<sup>4</sup> Murdoch's complete diary testifies to the fact that he was actively involved in many organizations, of which only the I.O.O.F. (Imperial Order of Foresters) lodge is mentioned in this document, and which were designed to improve the amenities of Calgary. Furthermore he had a leadership role in most of these organizations. Perhaps his most significant achievement was being elected the first mayor of Calgary--a feat he modestly dismisses in two lines in his diary.

The three pages from his diary selected for this study are significant, not only because they record important events in Murdoch's life, but because the events themselves were of consequence to Calgary's later development. Murdoch's own arrival on May 13, 1883 signalled a new

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<sup>4</sup>MacEwen, loc. cit.





era of success in his career. His years in Calgary were devoted to community building and most of the pioneer projects that he was involved in benefitted from his leadership.<sup>5</sup> The arrival of the railway at Calgary on August 11, 1883 transformed what had been an isolated police fort into a growing commercial and distribution centre.

The entries for March 28, 29 and 30, 1885 allude to events of more general significance than simply the mobilization of a local home guard in Calgary. The news from Prince Albert of the beginnings of the North West Rebellion precipitated fears that all the Indians in the North West would take up arms against the incoming settlers. To placate the Indians of southern Alberta, Macdonald telegraphed to Father Lacombe, requesting him to visit Crowfoot on the nearby Blackfeet Reserve to ensure the loyalty of the tribe.<sup>6</sup> Lacombe went and succeeded in persuading the Blackfeet to remain loyal to the Government as they had agreed in the 1877 Treaty. As Murdoch's entry for March 30, 1885 indicates, Lacombe was successful in his mission, though, as Stanley points out, the Indians were greatly influenced by the presents they were offered and by the prospects of further concessions.<sup>7</sup> As a further precaution, the Government of Canada sent, in response to Murdoch's request, two battalions of infantry to Calgary, and these later made up a substantial

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<sup>5</sup>MacEwen, op. cit., pp. 70-71.

<sup>6</sup>G.F.G. Stanley, The Birth of Western Canada (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1960), p. 361.

<sup>7</sup>Ibid., p. 362.



part of General Strange's Alberta Field Force.<sup>8</sup> One consequence of these actions was that no fighting took place in southern Alberta, and the area remained fairly attractive to new settlers.

Both pedagogically and historically the selected entries from Murdoch's diary are significant by being representative of events of wider consequence.

#### DOCUMENT C-2

#### The First Newspaper in Calgary

##### Identification

The first issue of the Calgary Herald, Mining and Ranche Advocate and General Advertiser appeared on Friday, August 31, 1883, just three weeks after the arrival of the railway. Its career, according to Hayden,<sup>9</sup> is one of the romances of Canadian journalism. Beginning in a cramped tent with a Washington hand press, the Calgary Herald is now (1965) one of Western Canada's largest newspapers. Its founders were Thomas Braden and Andrew Armour. Not much is known about the latter person, but Braden came to Calgary from Ontario in July 1883 when the 'end of track' was still at Gleichen.<sup>10</sup> When he first declared his intention to publish a newspaper, he was laughed at, but by the date of the first issue, he

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<sup>8</sup>Colonel F.C. Jamieson, The Alberta Field Force of '85 (Battleford: Canadian North West Historical Society Vol. 1, #7, 1931), p. 15.

<sup>9</sup>C.A. Hayden, "Romance of the Calgary Herald," The Story of the Press (Battleford: Canadian North West Historical Society, 1928).

<sup>10</sup>Thomas B. Braden, "When The Herald Came to Calgary," Alberta Historical Review, Vol. 9, #3, Summer, 1961, p. 1.





claims that he had collected two hundred \$1 subscriptions--all paid in advance.<sup>11</sup> The first printing consisted of five hundred copies and all were sold,<sup>12</sup> suggesting the beginning of a fairly common practice in pioneer communities--that of sending the local paper to relatives in Eastern Canada or Europe. The first issue was unique in another way. To help with the typesetting, the police lent Braden and Armour the services of Constable Thomas Clarke,<sup>13</sup> and the voluntary services of Mackenzie Bowell, later the Prime Minister of Canada of Canada, are said to have also been used to collect local news.<sup>14</sup> The first issue had four pages and Document C-2 is a copy of the first page of that issue. The Calgary Herald, Mining and Ranche Advocate and General Advertiser was a weekly newspaper until July, 1885 when two changes occurred. Its name was shortened to the Calgary Herald, and it became a daily paper.

Document C-2 provides considerable information on conditions in Calgary in 1883 with all the major aspects of pioneer life--the police, the Indians, the railway, the churches, the businesses, the court, the hotel and the visitors--receiving attention, and is included in this collection because it reflects in published form the interests of the early settlers. Document C-2 is illustrated in Figure 9.

Unfortunately this document could not be reproduced as clearly as would be desirable because the size of the original had to be reduced. However, in view of the poor present condition of the few

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<sup>11</sup> Ibid., p. 3.    <sup>12</sup> Ibid.    <sup>13</sup> Ibid.

<sup>14</sup> Hayden, op. cit., p. 53, and MacEwen, op. cit., p. 48.





# THE CALGARY HERALD

MINING AND RANCHE ADVOCATE AND GENERAL ADVERTISER.

VOLUME 1.

CALGARY, ALBERTA, FRIDAY, AUGUST 31, 1883

NUMBER 1

## Canadian Pacific Railway COMPANY.

TRAFFIC SERVICE.

TRAINS WILL RUN AS FOLLOWS:

Leave Winnipeg for the West at 10:00 a.m.

Arrive at Regina at 10:00 a.m.

Arrive at Saskatoon at 10:00 a.m.

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Arrive at Saskatoon at 10:00 a.m.

Arrive at Regina at 10:00 a.m.

## CALL AND SHEET

Specimens of

## Printing!

AT THE

## Herald Office.

### 7. NOTICE.

A sitting of the

BOW RIVER DISTRICT COURT.

Division No. 3, will be held

## AT CALGARY,

ON

Thursday, the 25th Day of

October, A.D., 1883.

Court will open at 11 o'clock in the fore-

noon.

T. DOWLING,

Clerk of the Court.

Calgary, August 30, 1883.

## LOCAL NEWS.

New Stock.—I. O. Baker & Co.

have just received 150 wood and coal

stoves, which will be sold cheap.

Police Hospital.—The hospital

contains at present four patients,

three civilians and one policeman.

C. P. CONSTRUCTION.—Tracklaying

is being vigorously proceeded with

by the C. P. R., about 10 miles west

of Calgary.

FIRST ARRIVAL.—The first train

of freight for Calgary, carried the

plant of the CALGARY HERALD, and

some goods for Winder & Co.

IN LINE.—The guard-room has

but one occupant, an Indian named

Co-lop, who is serving his time for

striking a white man last winter.

ROOF PHOTOGRAPHED.—Immedi-

ately after full dress parade, on

Tuesday morning, the troop station-

ary here was photographed by Mr.

Bingham.

ANTHRACITE COAL.—We have been

shown some fine specimens of what

has been pronounced "anthracite

coal," lately brought from the

## REGISTRATION DISTRICTS.

We under-

stand that Alberta has been divided

into two registration districts.

One office will be established at Cal-

gary, the other at Edmonton.

## TRAIN SERVICE.

A passenger train

now leaves Calgary, daily for the

east, at 10:30 a.m., and one leaves

Medicine Hat for Calgary, every

morning at 3 a.m., arriving here

about 3 p.m.

## EXCURSION.

The Brandon Town

Official purpose visiting Calgary, in

a few days. Mr. Egan has placed a

sleeping at their disposal. Could not

something be done towards giving

them a public reception?

## FIRST ENGINE.

On the arrival of

the first engine into Calgary, the

hill sides were crowded with admir-

ing spectators, many of whom had

never seen one before, and others

who had not been near a railway for

eight or ten years.

## ROYAL HOTEL.

Mr. Monlon has

just closed his popular hotel for the

season, owing to the fact that he

could obtain no suitable building site,

at present. We believe it is his in-

tention to return to Calgary and

erect a large hotel, when the town is

surveyed. The hotel was sold by

auction on Tuesday last, and owing

to the successful manner in which

Mr. T. S. Burns wielded the ham-

mer, fancy figures were obtained.

## GEOLOGICAL SURVEY.

Mr. J. H.

Panton, geologist of the Manitoba

## SABBATH SERVICES.

Divine ser-

vice is held at the Catholic Chapel

every Sunday at 10:30 a.m. and 4:30

p.m.

## PRESBYTERIAN SERVICE.

The ser-

vice in connection with the Presby-

terian Mission will be held in a left

near the Calgary House on Sunday

next at 7 p.m.

## CATHOLIC INDUSTRIAL SCHOOL.

Ror. Father La Combe is waiting for

the specifications and forms of tend-

ers from Lieut.-Governor Dewdney

for the Indian Industrial School at

High River. As soon as they arrive

parties wishing to tender will be sup-

plied with blank forms.

## Hudson Bay Fort.

The H. B.

Fort, at Calgary, has lately been

raised to the chief post of the dis-

trict, from which the supplies for 5

posts in the Edmonton district, 0 in

the Peace River district, and 1 in

the Athabasca district will be for-

warded.

## THIEVES.

A number of petty

thefts have lately been committed in

the vicinity, but the smallest thing

we have heard of, was the cutting

and stealing of the ropes from the foot

builgo across the Elbow. This is a

matter of some importance, as strong-

ers coming into town are very liable

to get a cold bath gratuitously. We

hope the ropes will soon be replaced.

## METHODISTICAL.

We are pleased

to see that the energetic Methodist

missionaries of this place, Rev. Mr.

Turner, is always equal to the occa-

## PERSONALS.

Superintendent McIlree left yesterday

morning for Morley.

Mr. Jacques has gone to Winnipeg to

purchase a stock of jewellery.

We regret to learn that R. Dixon, Esq.

Dixon & Patterson is seriously ill with bil-

ious fever.

Baron DeLongueil, of Montreal, Dr.

Grant, Jr., Ottawa, are in town, and pur-

pose visiting the Mountains shortly.

Mr. Gamble Geddes, of Toronto, A.D.C.

to His Honour Lieutenant-Governor of

Ontario, was in town this week.

McLeod Stewart, Esq., Ottawa, brother

of Capt. Stewart, is visiting here, and

will look over the Captain's place before

returning east.

Esq.-Governor Brown, of Chicago, is

proprietor of Chicago Tribune, and Prof. A. M.

Dyre, of Ann Arbor, Michigan, were in

town on Saturday.

Rev. Mr. Bridgman, of Medicine Hat,

has returned from a brief visit to Sym-

car, whether he had been on an inter-

esting mission. The Rev. gentleman will

accept our congratulations.

Cok DeWinton, A.D.C., to His Ex-

cellency the Marquis of Lorne, called on us

this week and ordered a copy of The

Herald to be sent to the Governor-Gen-

eral's office, Ottawa.

Mr. Gouin, Timber Agent, accompanied

by Mr. Thompson, Timber Agent, and

Mr. W. F. Gouin, Winnipeg, left on Wed-

nesday morning for the Rockies on a tour

of inspection. They expect to be back in

about ten days.

W. Balch, Esq., President of the First

National Bank, Chicago, Iowa, and Mr.

C. H. Balch, Esq., Chicago, Iowa, and Mr.

Dakota, looked over the town, and

will be in town again in a few days.

Our old friend, J. C. Lorne, Esq., for

the recipient, from the citizens of this

town, of a gold-headed cane, and a well

filled purse, and from the Masons body,

a Past Master's Jewel of gold, accompa-

nied in each case by a very flattering ad-

dress. The papers give Mr. Lorne much

credit for the aid he has always displayed

in advancing the best interests of the town,

mentioning among other matters that he

had a hand in running off the first paper

printed by steam in that place—the Con-

federate. We may say that Mr. Lorne

arrived here in good health and just in

time to render valuable assistance in ac-

ting up the first printing press in Calgary.

From our personal knowledge of Mr.

Lorne, we think it is quite an acquisition

to Calgary, and have no doubt he will

put forth his same efforts to build up this

place that he has displayed in Morist Forest.

Mr. E. H. Talbot, proprietor, and Mr.

H. R. Hubert, editor, of the Railway Age,

accompanied by their wives, and Miss

Nellie Herrick, Secretary, Mr. Job A.

Fraser, R.C.A., Artist, paid Calgary a

visit last week in their magnificent pal-

atial car, the finest ever built in the world.

They were informed that they would re-

quire to lay in a stock of everything they

required in the way of food, as nothing

whatever could be grown in this cold

climate, but imagine their surprise on re-

ceiving that the garden of the Mounted

Police a liberal supply of vegetables.

They intended remaining only for a day,

but the beauty of the spot and





remaining copies of the first issue of the Calgary Herald, this reproduction is quite distinct, and may be useful in the classroom, if magnified or projected on a screen.

#### Relevance to the Scope of the Curriculum

Document C-2 reflects many aspects of social conditions in early Calgary and in view of the vast amount of information offered by this document, the items referred to in this analysis have been numbered by the investigator to facilitate identification. In terms of the scope of the social studies curriculum, all ten content areas are in evidence in document C-2.

The newspaper itself represents one medium of communication and the references to both the ferry (item 5) and the railway (items 1, 10, 11, 18, 19, 20) show how the problems of "transporting and communicating" (Scope No. 4) were met. Another area of human endeavour, that of "governing and protecting" (Scope No. 6), is also mentioned several times in connection with police, court and Indian activities (items 7, 12, 13, 15, 17, 24, 29, 31, and 32). Provision of basic needs, such as food, clothing and shelter (Scope No's. 1, 2 and 3) is alluded to by reference to the stores, the lumber supplies and even the architect (items 3, 4, 8, 14, 21 and 23). The police and C.P.R. hospitals (items 9 and 37) mentioned illustrate that provisions for "health, . . . and safety" conditions (Scope No. 5) had been made. A number of the visitors mentioned in the newspaper (items 22, 33, 34 and 35) were apparently concerned with examining the natural resources and scenery, and their activities





provide evidence for that area of human behavior, defined in the scope of the curriculum as "observing and conserving nature" (Scope No. 7). Mention of the Catholic Industrial School for Indians, set up by Father Lacombe at High River, shows that some members of the community were concerned with "educating for adult duties and jobs" (Scope No. 8). In the sense that gambling provides some people with pleasure, the newspaper item, entitled "House Raided" (item 31) is illustrative of one of the ways available to "enjoy. . .leisure" (Scope No. 9). Evidence of the last aspect of the scope, "expressing ideals through religion and art" (Scope No. 10) is found in the references to the various churches and to the visit to Calgary of the artist, John Frazer (items 16, 25, 26, 30 and 36).

Although the details of many of the items are of little significance historically, the wealth of evidence in this document on the various areas of basic human needs makes the document useful testimony to the social conditions of the early community in Calgary.

### Historical Significance

Like many other "firsts" in history, the importance of an event frequently depends on its consequences. In the case of the first issue of Calgary's first newspaper, the significance of its consequences may be measured by the growth and circulation of the newspaper today.<sup>15</sup> But its significance can be measured in other ways.

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<sup>15</sup>Reported circulation of Calgary Herald June 9, 1965. 81,215 copies, Canadian Media Vol. 13, No. 6, June 1965, p. 115.



The scope of its content provides supporting evidence for ideas previously considered in this study. The item "Railway Smash Up" illustrates one of the constructional difficulties of the Canadian Pacific Railway. The reference to "Treaty Money" (item No. 15) describes one of the outcomes of the Treaty previously mentioned in Document A-2.

The railway is mentioned six times on the single newspaper page reproduced here and this concern reflects the dependence of the community on the railway.

The many visitors mentioned in the column marked "Personals" (item No. 33) is testimony to the heightened interest in western Canada that was developed immediately upon completion of the line to Calgary.

Another of Father Lacombe's accomplishments is mentioned under the caption "Catholic Industrial School" (item No. 27) and adds support to the conclusions historians<sup>16</sup> have reached about the Catholic father's concern and interest in the native population of western Canada. References to mining, lumber and ranching in the news items and the advertisements indicate what industries were, in those days, considered basic to the community's growth. The absence of references to farming is explained by a later editor, H.S. Cayley.<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>16</sup>Katherine Hughes, Father Lacombe, The Black Robe Voyageur (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1920), p. 290; G.F.G. Stanley, The Birth of Western Canada (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1960), p. 362; and C.M. MacInnis, In the Shadow of the Rockies (London: Rivingtons, 1930), p. 173.

<sup>17</sup>H.S. Cayley was the editor of the Calgary Herald from Dec. 4, 1884 to 1887.





The lords of the earth were the ranch managers, and the heroes were the cowboys. We were told and had the will to believe, that Southern Alberta could not grow wheat; it must forever be the home of cattle and horses.<sup>18</sup>

In addition, the publication of the first newspaper represents a significant step in the growth of Calgary because, as Bussard notes, the newspaper was able to proclaim to the world the many opportunities offered by the community and to act, not unintentionally, as an agent for colonization.<sup>19</sup> The editor's urging of his fellow editor from the Guelph Mercury to write an article on Calgary (item #36) may represent the beginning of this propogandizing. The outlook of the paper was pro-Western, and a part of its policy was to "rage editorially about the rights of the West,"<sup>20</sup> and much of the paper's historical significance rests in its representation of regional interest and viewpoints of the time. The virtual lack of news, not concerned with Calgary, in this issue signifies this regional interest.

However, on matters of national interest the editors of the Calgary Herald invariably identified themselves with the Conservative government in Ottawa.<sup>21</sup> The editors clearly recognized, says Brown, that "the fate of the region was dependent on the fate of the nation."<sup>22</sup>

For these reasons, its representativeness of regionalism, and its

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<sup>18</sup>Hayden, op. cit., p. 58.      <sup>19</sup>Bussard, op. cit., p. 67.

<sup>20</sup>Hayden, loc. cit.

<sup>21</sup>R.C. Brown, "Canadian Nationalism in Western Newspapers," Alberta Historical Review, Volume 10, #3, Summer, 1962, p. 4.

<sup>22</sup>Ibid., p. 7.



commentary on prevailing social conditions and the community's growth, this issue of the Calgary Herald is deemed to be a significant historical document.

#### DOCUMENT C-3

#### The Beginning of Education in Calgary

##### Identification

Document C-3 consists of six short items from issues of the Calgary Herald, 1883-4, Burns and Elliot's directory, Calgary 1885, and the Calgary School Records 1886 which are arranged to record the beginnings of education in Calgary.

In the fall of 1883 as the citizens of Calgary became aware of their lack of local government, steps were taken to organize the population for cooperative action. On January 7, 1884, a seven member Civic Committee, under Major James Walker, was elected to arrange for the incorporation of the town, the securing of representation on the North West Council, and the establishment of a school. While visiting the community in late January, 1884, Edgar Dewdney, the Lieutenant-Governor of the North West Territories, informed the Civic Committee that a recent Ordinance permitted the establishment of school districts in communities where ten children between the ages of five and twenty years could be found.<sup>23</sup> The Territorial Council would pay half the

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<sup>23</sup>Phyllis E. Weston, "A History of Education in Calgary" (unpublished Master's thesis, Edmonton, University of Alberta, 1951), p. 3.



teacher's salary, if it did not exceed \$600 per annum.<sup>24</sup>

A meeting was urgently convened, a motion to establish a school district was carried unanimously and a board of three trustees was elected. Lacking the power to levy local taxes for educational purposes, the school trustees were obliged to collect subscriptions to finance the school's operation. Two weeks after the meeting, on Monday, February 18, 1884, the first school in Calgary opened.

To secure a more stable financial basis for the school, a petition for the establishment of a legal school district was circulated by James Walker, and in March, 1885 the status of the privately supported school was changed to that of a public school by the organization of the Calgary Protestant Public School District, No. 19. The provision of education in Calgary became a public responsibility. Some of the difficulties encountered in providing education in Calgary are illustrated in the document that follows.

#### The Beginning of Education in Calgary

##### Item #1 School.

We think it is certainly high time that some steps were taken to establish a school in Calgary. We have a number of children, say about 30, of school age who are growing up without the advantage of education. It is a well known fact that if children do not receive an education in early years they are apt to grow up to manhood void of the benefits accruing from it. Some months ago when we urged this matter we were met with the reply "there is no place to hold a public meeting." We think funds to the amount of about \$30 to \$40 per month could be raised by subscription, and as the North West Council will supplement this amount with an equal sum, there is no fear whatever but sufficient funds can be raised to supply a good school in Calgary. We would like to hear from others who are equally interested in the matter.

- - Calgary Herald, Wednesday December 26, 1883.

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<sup>24</sup> Ibid. citing Calgary Herald, January 23, 1884.





## Item #2. School.

Captain Stewart, agent of the Denny estate, has generously donated a beautifully situated block of land, for college or school purposes on the property. We are informed that immediate action will be taken by the residents and purchasers, for the erection of a good school and a teacher engaged.

- - Calgary Herald, January 16, 1884.

## Item #3. Advertisement.

## Public School Notice

The trustees beg to inform the people of Calgary and surrounding districts, that they have secured a building for school purposes, convenient to the barracks, and hired a teacher.

The school will be opened on Monday 18th inst., and will be free to all children in the town. All parties having subscribed for the support of the school, or desirous of doing so, will kindly hand in their subscriptions to H. Douglas, Secretary-Treasurer, or the Trustees.

Signed: H. Douglas, A. McNeill,  
W. N. Costello--Trustees.

- - Calgary Herald, Wednesday February 13, 1884.

## Item #4. School.

The school opened on Monday, and notwithstanding the severity of the day, a very fair attendance turned out to meet the new teacher. At the time our reporter called there were seventeen scholars present, and all seemed bent on drawing sustenance from the tree of knowledge. Mr. W. Costello, who holds a first class certificate, has been engaged at fifty dollars per month.

- - Calgary Herald, Wednesday February 20, 1884.

## Item #5. School Arrangements.

The school accommodation of Calgary are yet very limited. The expense so far has been borne by private subscription confined to a few friends of education. The school has been under the charge of Mr. S. Douglas.

The attendance has been steadily increasing, until it was found necessary to increase the room accommodation. The school is at present taught under the town hall, and is attended by upwards of fifty pupils. Last month voting took place on the erection of a



school district and the district has been formally organized, so that in a short time a fine school house will be built and a first-class school running.

- - Burns and Elliott. Calgary, Her Industries and Resources (Calgary, N.W.T., 1885), p. 84.

Item #6. The Inspector's Report 1886.

Both teachers (Mr. Boag and Miss Watson) have shown considerable enterprise in their work. There were 60 pupils present, all of whom evinced a deep interest in their studies. Their progress has been in general rapid. Grasping intelligently the subjects being taught, they are enabled to throw aside the drudgery consequent upon the old methods of task of memory.

The order maintained is excellent. This has been secured by kindness and tact. A healthy tone pervades the school, the pupils trying to excel.

The school building (a store building on Stephen Avenue East) is in poor condition, lacking proper arrangement, suitable location and necessary warmth. Pupils who have not attended school for years, and many who are just commencing to study, have introduced an element that materially hinders advancement.

- - A report by the School Inspector, Rev. John Maclean, taken from Calgary School Records, 1886 cited by Weston, op. cit., p. 8 and Bussard, op. cit., p. 106.

### Relevance to the Scope of the Curriculum

The concern of all these items is with the provision of education in Calgary and, as such, concentrates in terms of the scope of the curriculum on the human need of "educating for adult duties and jobs" (Scope No. 8) as the editorial comment in item No. 1 signifies. As in modern times, the problem of school accommodation was very demanding and the availability, adequacy or inadequacy of the school buildings is commented upon in all of the items presented, except No. 4, and brings to light the problem of "providing shelter" (Scope No. 2) for school purposes. Another important problem which is mentioned or suggested in





items No. 1, 3, 5 and 6 is that of formally establishing an organization to be responsible for education in the community. When education became a public responsibility in Calgary in 1885, the body set up to administer the school became an arm of local government, as item 5 states, and was under the supervision of the Territorial Government as the visit of the school inspector (item 6) signifies. These references provide historical evidence on the problem of "governing. . ." (Scope No. 6) educational services.

Although only three aspects of the scope of the curriculum are dealt with by these items, the content of the document shows the interest that each aspect generated at that time.

### Historical Significance

The significance of this collection of small items can be assessed in terms of the historical insights offered on the problems of providing education in a pioneer settlement.

Little has been written on the local problems of education in the 1880's but a number of interesting parallels with the first school in Edmonton are evident from an examination of the description of its founding in 1881.<sup>25</sup> Both schools were begun by voluntary subscription. Both were located on land donated by a local benefactor. Both started with enrolments of less than twenty and within a few years had expanded into the hundreds so that new staff and new buildings became necessary.

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<sup>25</sup>G. A. McKee, Edmonton School District No. 7 (1885-1935) (Edmonton Public School Board, 1935), pp. 1-8.



Both provided free education for children within the town, but assessed fees on non-resident students. Both became legally established school districts in 1885 and both were the subject of discussion and comment in the local newspapers. These similarities suggest that trustees and teachers in both communities faced similar situations. Aoki describes almost identical circumstances surrounding the beginnings of education in Lethbridge.<sup>26</sup>

Phyllis E. Weston claims that between 1884 and 1890 the trustees of the Calgary School Board "were feeling their way."<sup>27</sup> The problems of finance, overcrowding, expanding enrolments, staff turnover and inadequate facilities were as serious to the trustees in those days as they are today.

This collection of primary sources on the establishment of the first school in Calgary provides evidence of the difficulties encountered in providing educational services in an expanding pioneer community.

#### DOCUMENT C-4

#### C.P.R. Experimental Farms--1884

#### Identification

Document C-4 is the front and back cover of a Canadian Pacific

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<sup>26</sup>T. Aoki, "The Development of the Lethbridge School District No. 51" (unpublished Master's thesis, Edmonton, University of Alberta, 1963), p. 28.

<sup>27</sup>Weston, op. cit., p. 13.



Railway publication designed to promote settlement by farmers in the twenty-four mile belt, accepted by the C.P.R. as a land subsidy, alongside the track between Winnipeg and the Rocky Mountains.

Prior to the construction of the railway across southern Alberta, there had been considerable doubt about the fertility of the soil and the suitability of the land for farming. Palliser in 1858 had described the triangular area, outlined in Alberta by the international boundary, the lower eastern slopes of the Rockies and the 52nd parallel, as dry and arid.<sup>28</sup> Macoun's survey of 1879 had tended to contradict Palliser's appraisal of the area, by asserting that the land was capable of producing crops.<sup>29</sup> "The C.P.R. Company had," in the words of Sir William Temple, a prominent member of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, "set an excellent example by having model or pattern farms close along the line of the railway, to show what the country was capable of producing."<sup>30</sup> The C.P.R. Company had two prime concerns, one to provide traffic for its railway; the other to sell the lands obtained through the railway lands subsidy. The distribution of land promotional publications was designed to meet both ends.

The writers of such publications had a tendency to propagandize, and interpretation of such documents must proceed with care. To select

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<sup>28</sup>J.B. Hedges, Building the Canadian West (New York: Macmillan, 1939), pp. 3-4.

<sup>29</sup>Ibid., p. 35.

<sup>30</sup>Sir William Temple, quoted in An Account of the Workings and Results of the Canadian Pacific Railway Co.'s Experimental Farms (Winnipeg: Manitoba Free Press, 1884), p. 15.





from this particular pamphlet, what is essentially factual, only the front and back covers were used. Nevertheless the hand of the propagandist is still evident.

The two parts of document C-4 are shown in Figures 10 and 11.

### Relevance to the Scope of the Curriculum

As an immigration and settlement promotional publication, document C-4 seems to mainly be concerned with selling land, an aspect of human behavior which the scope of the curriculum does not seem to cover. Some mention is made of means of "getting and preparing food" (Scope No. 1) by raising a crop, and of "transporting and communicating" (Scope No. 4) by travelling on the Canadian Pacific.

No other aspects of the scope of the curriculum are mentioned directly in this document.

### Historical Significance

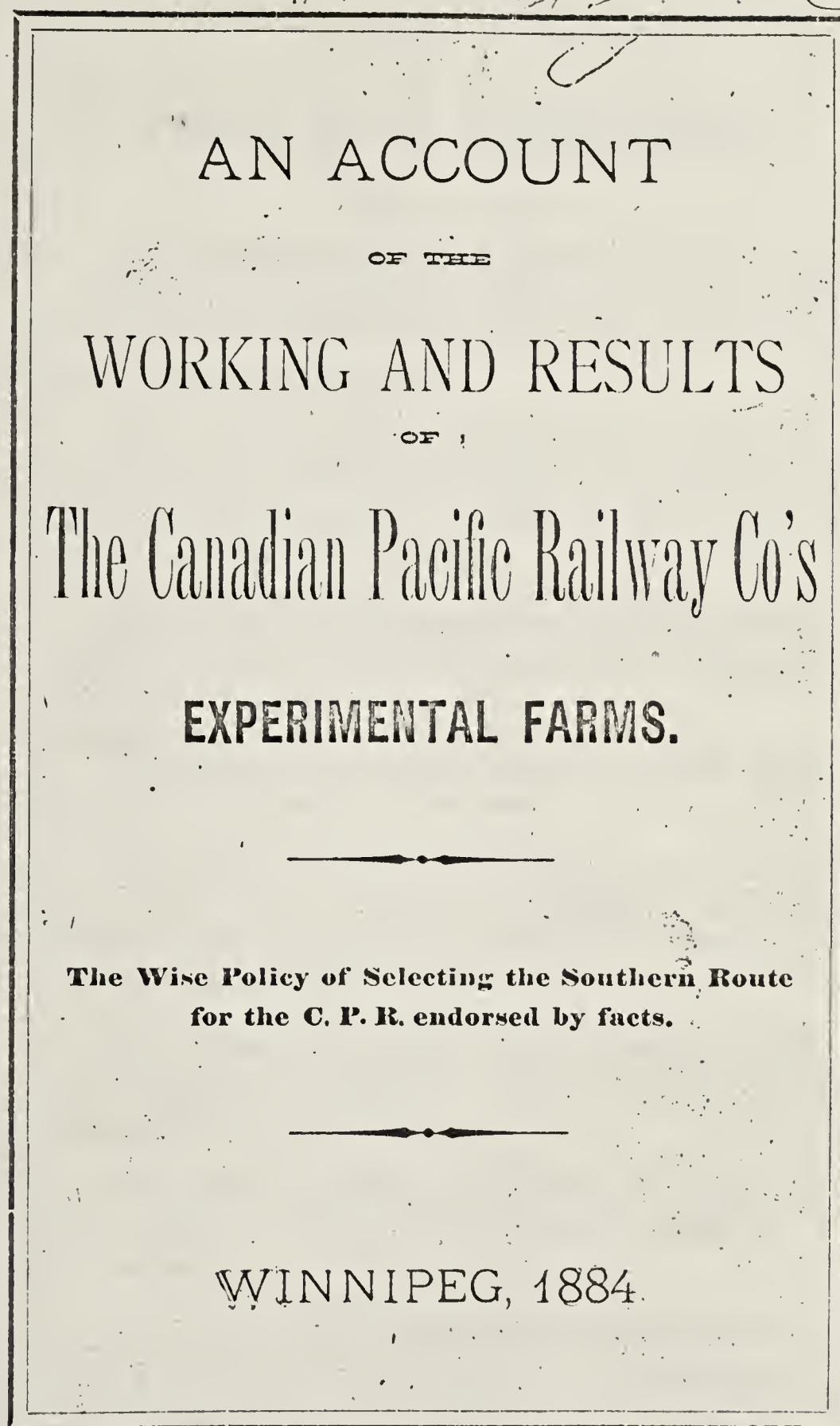
Being the largest private land-owner in the West, the Canadian Pacific Railway assumed, with the Dominion Government a major responsibility for promoting immigration to the area. The company undertook the task of advertising the West energetically and, according to Hedges, in 1883-4 published maps and pamphlets in ten European languages, advertised in 314 British and Continental journals and newspapers, and distributed over a million pieces of literature.<sup>31</sup>

Document C-4 is one sample from this massive publicity campaign.

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<sup>31</sup> Hedges, op. cit., pp. 94-5.





Manitoba Free Press Print, Winnipeg.

Figure 10. C.P.R. Experimental Farms' Pamphlet, Front Cover.  
Glenbow Foundation Library and Archives.





## FACTS TO BE REMEMBERED.

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The Canadian Pacific Railway owns the odd numbered sections contained in a belt twenty-four miles on each side of their line between Winnipeg and the Rocky Mountains.

The Company select only lands fit for settlement. These selected lands are offered at prices from \$2.50 per acre upwards, with a rebate of from \$1.25 to \$3.50 for each acre cultivated.

Remember that *free grants of 160 acres* can be obtained from the Government, within the railway belt.

These can be selected from the richest prairie lands of the Canadian Northwest.

No forest to clear; no stumps or stones to contend with! The land can be ploughed and a crop raised in the same season in which the settler takes up his homestead.

Low fares and freight rates are offered to the settler, over the Canadian Pacific. Be sure your tickets read via C. P. R. route.

*For fullest information about the country, and prices of the Company's lands, apply to*

J. H. McTAVISH,

C. P. R. LAND COMMISSIONER,

WINNIPEG, MAN.



The front cover shows clearly that the Canadian Pacific Railway Company had assumed not only the task of advertising the land, but had also established experimental farms to demonstrate the land's productivity. At least three experimental farms--at Brandon, Padmore and Calgary--were in operation in 1884. The reference to the Southern Route is the only mention made in this study of the controversy over the decision to use the Kicking Horse rather than the Yellowhead Pass.

One historian<sup>32</sup> lists the arguments advanced in the route controversy and notes that Professor Macoun's opinions on the agricultural possibilities of southern Alberta carried considerable influence.<sup>33</sup> The statement on the front cover seems to endorse this conclusion.

The significance of the back cover rests in the information it provides on the land policies of both the company and Government. The first paragraph refers to the provisions in the company's 1881 charter for land subsidies as part payment for the construction of the railway. The second paragraph shows the advantage to the company of the clause in the charter permitting "indemnity selection," by which the company could reject unsuitable land in favor of more fertile land. An outline of the company's land sale's policy is also given.

The next paragraph refers to the homestead system. The railway

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<sup>32</sup>F.C. Roe, "An Unsolved Problem of Canadian History," Report of the Canadian Historical Association 1935-1936 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1936), pp. 65-77.

<sup>33</sup>Ibid., p. 68.



company's motive for encouraging settlement on free homestead land is explained by Martin.

The function of the free homestead. . . seems to have been. . . to provide as rapidly as possible a pioneer population in Western Canada. An obvious function, in turn, of rapid immigration was to increase the value and expedite the sale not only of railway lands but of government land--reserved for sale in the railway belt in order to provide cash subsidies for the railway. . . . The free homestead system could provide traffic from a wilderness at a time when opponents of the railway claimed the C.P.R. would never earn the axle grease for its rolling stock.<sup>34</sup>

The farming advice given in paragraph five seems to be at variance with procedures suggested in the next document, C-5, but apparently the practice was attempted by some farmers. The last paragraph is the "raison d'etre" for this publication and represents part of the C.P.R. Company's policy of transporting incoming settlers and their effects cheaply, and sometimes free in order to stimulate rail traffic.<sup>35</sup>

Such was the type of information on which an intending immigrant had to base decisions. The effectiveness of the company's promotional efforts may be measured in part by reference to increases in both number and density of the population in settlements close to the railway.<sup>36</sup> Nonetheless despite fifteen years of constant effort by the Canadian Pacific Railway Company the results produced "fell far short of the

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<sup>34</sup>Chester Martin, "Dominion Lands" Policy (Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1938), p. 397.

<sup>35</sup>Hedges, op. cit., p. 115.

<sup>36</sup>W.A. MacKintosh, Prairie Settlement--The Geographical Setting (Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1934), pp. 47-49.





original expectations of company officials."<sup>37</sup>

This land sales promotional publication, document C-4, symbolizes the efforts of the railway company to colonize the land acquired under the subsidy in order to stimulate regular freight traffic on the trans-continental line.

#### DOCUMENT C-5

District of Alberta, N.W.T.

#### Identification

In August, 1884 the Calgary District Agricultural Society was formed to exhibit farm products locally and to send them for display to Eastern Canada.<sup>38</sup> A few months later with the help of the Dominion Government, the secretary of the Society compiled a pamphlet entitled "District of Alberta, N.W.T." The purpose of the pamphlet was to stimulate interest in Alberta in the minds of prospective settlers, but actually only the Calgary district was described. As the first such publication promoting farming in the Calgary region, this pamphlet offers interesting information on the viewpoints, or more correctly perhaps, the hopes of farmers in the area. Several items--the introduction, the description of Calgary, the weather statistics and two testimonial letters--have been selected for inclusion in this document

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<sup>37</sup>Hedges, op. cit., p. 125.

<sup>38</sup>MacEwen, op. cit., p. 74.



to demonstrate more fully the nature of such promotional pamphlets.

Figures 12, 13 and 14 comprise the three parts of Document C-5.

#### Relevance to the Scope of the Curriculum

These selected extracts from an 1884 Dominion government promotional publication provide information on eight of the ten aspects of the scope of the curriculum.

As the document was written for prospective farmers, its dominant themes are crops and climate, which may be categorized as being concerned with "getting and preparing food" (Scope No. 1) and with "observing. . . nature" (Scope No. 7). The rest of the document focuses on the facilities in the community, as the section entitled "Calgary" illustrates, and provides information on the arrangements within the community for providing shelter and clothing (Scope Nos. 2 and 3), transportation and communication (Scope No. 4), government and protection (Scope No. 6), education (Scope No. 8) and opportunities for worship (Scope No. 10) by references to the stores, the railway and mails, the police, the school and the churches, respectively. In this respect, document C-5, which appeared in 1884, could confirm or further develop ideas generated about local conditions by the 1883 copy of the Calgary Herald, provided that such ideas are significant historically.

#### Historical Significance

Assessment of the historical significance of document C-5 has taken cognizance of the comments made on the value of promotional literature on connection with document C-4. The pamphlet of the Calgary





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971.23  
C151d

## DOMINION OF CANADA.

# DISTRICT OF ALBERTA, N. W. T.

### INTRODUCTION.

Many thousands of people in the Eastern Provinces, the United States of America, and the older countries of Europe, are every year seriously contemplating emigration. And the first great problem to be solved by capitalists, by parents with rising families, by young men of bone, sinew and courage, anxious to better their fortunes, is—

#### WHERE SHALL WE GO?

Let all such persons carefully study this pamphlet, which is written not by speculators, but by actual settlers engaged in the general callings of life; who having found a most desirable country, are convinced that, so soon as its scenery, great fertility, genial climate, abundant minerals and vast capabilities are known, its speedy settlement will be ensured.

Does the Eastern Farmer want fertile lands with luscious grasses, plenty of water, timber, coal, wild fruits, fish and game, charming scenery, railway facilities, and a mild climate favourable to the cheap wintering of his stock? Let him try the free lands of Alberta, and his experience will not vary much from the testimonies expressed in this pamphlet by farmers, some of whom having tried their fortunes in various parts of the world, have chosen the lands of this district in preference to all others.

Does the Eastern Capitalist desire investments which are safe and will ensure a speedy return of interest? Let him invest his money in this rising country, whose mineral resources and advantages for stock raising, wool growing and the industries connected therewith, are, without controversy, acknowledged by all persons who have seen them, to rank among the finest in the world.

The best time for settlers to go upon their land is early in the spring, say about the first of April. From this period until the end of September is the proper time for ploughing up the sod which will be sufficiently rotted for back setting to be done later on. Good crops of oats, wheat, peas, potatoes, turnips and beets have been grown on sod during the present years, but farmers generally consider that immediate cropping, except in the case of vegetables hinders the speedy rotting of the turf.

The Calgary District Agricultural Society in placing the contents of this pamphlet before the public, do so to refute the many false statements that have been so wilfully circulated in respect to this, one of the wealthiest and most attractive districts in the British Empire, and one unequalled as a field for immigration.

The Officers of the Society will always be found ready to give intending settlers such information or advice as they may require, and will be pleased to answer any questions relating to the country that may be desired.

Figure 12. Government Promotional Publication, "District of Alberta, N.W.T.", 1884: Introduction. (Glenbow Foundation Library and Archives).



### CALGARY.

Calgary is, to-day, perhaps the most prominent and important town in the North-West Territories. It is centrally located in the District of Alberta on the C.P.R., 120 miles from the summit of the Rocky Mountains and destined to be the capital of the District when the latter is erected into a Province. The site has been very finely chosen at the confluence of the Bow and Elbow Rivers, on a broad flat basin between the two rivers. It has been said that it is much the grandest town-site either in Manitoba or the N.W.T. It is surrounded by romantic spots, precipitous bluffs and in the distance to the west and south-west very grand views of the Rockies are to be seen. A little over a year ago there were to be seen only the M. P. Post, H. B. trading post and a couple of stores. Now we have a population of from 800 to 1000, which is continually increasing, four churches, a school, and a full supply of stores of all kinds and enough mechanics and professional men to supply the wants of the residents and surrounding settlers. Calgary is a natural distributing centre for the great trade that is going on in the mountains with those connected with the railroad, miners and others, also for the whole Macleod district south, and for the immense trade with the Red Deer River and Edmonton country to the north. The mails are sent out from here to all these points and the H. B. Co. have made this their chief trading post for this immense territory. Calgary is the centre of a rich agricultural country as is proved by the crops that have been raised this season as well as in former seasons. Through this town run all the principal trails leading to Edmonton, Peace and Athabasca Rivers, on the north, Macleod to the south and Morley and the mountains on the west. We have here on both the Bow and Elbow Rivers excellent water powers, suitable for mills or factories of any kind. There is a good opening for a grist mill here now and also for a first-class hotel. The C.P.R. offer great inducements in the way of site to any one who will build a first-class hotel. It is a charming and healthy place to reside in and there is no doubt but as the country settles up it will continually increase in importance and wealth.

### THE WEATHER.

The following table shows the highest and lowest reading of the thermometer for each week since Sept. 1, 1883:—

			LOWEST.	HIGHEST.				LOWEST.	HIGHEST.
Week ending	Sept.	7	33	80	Week ending	March	7	—18	51
"	"	14	32	77	"	"	14	—13	40
"	"	21	21	90	"	"	21	18	53
"	"	28	17	79	"	"	28	23	58
"	Oct.	7	18	70	"	April	7	27	61
"	"	14	14	36	"	"	14	20	68
"	"	21	15	49	"	"	28	21	74
"	"	28	11	55	"	May	7	22	72
"	Nov.	7	8	51	"	"	14	26	76
"	"	14	—13	50	"	"	21	24	79
"	"	21	—6	60	"	"	28	34	86
"	"	28	—30	21	"	June	7	41	87
"	Dec.	7	16	48	"	"	14	33	80
"	"	14	8	51	"	"	21	33	84
"	"	21	—9	52	"	"	28	36	84
"	"	28	—17	20	"	July	7	36	78
"	Jan.	7	—22	45	"	"	14	36	72
"	"	14	3	40	"	"	21	39	76
"	"	21	5	50	"	"	28	43	80
"	"	28	—8	40	"	Aug.	7	40	82
"	Feb.	7	—19	33	"	"	14	34	86
"	"	14	—30	22	"	"	21	31	75
"	"	21	—30	34	"	"	28	39	80
"	"	28	—5	49					

Figure 13. Government Promotional Publication: "District of Alberta, N.W.T." 1884; Calgary and The Weather. (Glenbow Foundation Library and Archives).





## TRUE TO THE LETTER.

I have been in this district since July, 1883, and having heard this country so much run down, on account of summer frosts, I commenced taking a careful record of the thermometrical readings since August 1, 1883, to present date. This record completely contradicts such assertions. I enclose you the record, which, without further comment from me, will at once show that not only has the farmer nothing to fear from summer frost, but that he enjoys exceptionally fine winters; for although two or three weeks of severe cold are experienced, these are followed by a like period of warm, spring-like weather, thus reducing the actual period of cold weather to about two months.

The soil is all that a farmer can desire, for both grain-growing, sheep or stock-raising. My experience is confined to sod, on which I have about five acres of oats, and a similar piece of barley. The oats are well headed and about four and a half feet high, and probably thresh out about 45 bushels to the acre—these were sown in May, on land ploughed the end of April. The barley was sown June 15, on land ploughed June 10, and is now ripe. As regards vegetables, I have some very good potatoes, turnips, carrots, etc., and also beans which are doing well.

Other advantages which the country possesses, are to be found in its inexhaustible supply of timber, coal, building stone, lime and splendid water, and in my opinion the Province of Alberta is one of the best in the whole Dominion.

Fish Creek, Alberta, Sept. 4th, 1884.

S. W. SHAW.

I settled in this place in July, 1875, and have been farming ever since. As regards summer frost, never experienced them, or found out that they existed, until a Mr. McEachren, the horse doctor, came along and told us we had them. The doctor got frost on the brain some two years ago, and has never been known to tell the truth since, at least as regards his published statements respecting the climate of this country.

I have never failed in raising a good crop of wheat, oats, barley and vegetables of all descriptions during each of the successive years, and have also raised tomatoes and cucumbers every year in the open air. Of wheat I have averaged 37 bushels; oats 57 bushels; barley 71 bushels to the acre; and have some this year not behind that standard. Average yield of potatoes, on eight acres last year, was 225 bushels to the acre.

Industriously inclined people can get along comfortably with about \$1,000 capital to start with, but still more would be better.

I like the climate better than any I have found between the Atlantic and Pacific; the Rio Grande and Peace River, over all which territory I have travelled. There is everything in the country which a settler can desire.

There are people, who desire to run the country down, who say we have no market for produce here; those who have to buy say we have a good one and at good prices; those who have anything to sell always manage to get the money for it at a good round figure.

There are the mountains close by with large timber and mineral resources; these interests have to draw their supplies either from Calgary or further east, and they will naturally buy here to save extra railway freight. Winnipeg people say we shall have to send our surplus there; but when we have any, we shall send it to the Pacific, which is 230 miles nearer to us than Winnipeg.

Fish Creek, Sept. 4, 1884.

JOHN GLENN.

Figure 14. Government Promotional Publication, "District of Alberta, N.W.T." 1884; Testimonial Letters. (Glenbow Foundation Library and Archives)





District Agricultural Society was designed to attract farmers to the area. Ranching was already the established industry of southern Alberta but was not conducive to intensive settlement. Diller noted that

The coming of the railway marked the beginning of the end of ranching, as it opened up the way for settlement on a large scale, and this. . . meant the fencing in of the range. Its immediate effect, however, was to greatly stimulate the ranching industry by opening up wider markets.<sup>39</sup>

In the years 1885 to 1892 the number of cattle in Alberta tripled<sup>40</sup> but, with both the Dominion Government and the C.P.R. committed to colonization,<sup>41</sup> the number of open leases declined to nine by 1895.

At the same time the acreage under cultivation around Calgary grew to 20,000 acres.<sup>42</sup> The change from ranching to mixed farming was the result of many factors, not least of which was the fairly rapid increase in immigration and settlement. In discussing settlement after 1883, Diller points out, that it

. . . was composed largely of farmers who intended to engage in stock raising. For several years they were concerned almost entirely with ranching on a small scale, but by degrees small areas were put under cultivation for grain and fodder crops.<sup>43</sup>

It was the latter way of life that the pamphlet tried to encourage, as the introduction intimates. The description of Calgary corresponds with other contemporaneous accounts and illustrates the

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<sup>39</sup> Dorothy Diller, "The Early Economic Development of Alberta (Previous to 1905)" (unpublished Master's thesis, Edmonton, University of Alberta, 1923), p. 98.

<sup>40</sup> Ibid., p. 104.      <sup>41</sup> Ibid., p. 105.

<sup>42</sup> Ibid.      <sup>43</sup> Ibid., p. 125.



rapid growth of the town. The comment on "enough mechanics and businessmen" seems to suggest a rural bias that is not uncommon to farmers today.

Without information on the reliability of the instruments used to record the temperature, the weather figures probably have little geographical significance except in identifying climatic trends. However, when taken in connection with the testimonial statements of Shaw and Glenn, the figures provide an interesting basis for assessing their appraisal of the summer frost problem. That this problem actually existed became very apparent in 1885 when the entire harvest was ruined by early frost in August.<sup>44</sup>

The testimonial letters from Shaw and Glenn have to be considered in the light of their purpose. The use of the testimonial letter technique was a common form of immigration promotion, and was, in the opinion of Alexander Begg, the General Emigration Agent of the C.P.R., "the most efficacious means of promoting a desirable kind of immigration in order to disarm the sting of unfavorable criticism and the complaints of the grumblers."<sup>45</sup> The characteristic independent spirit of the prairie frontiersman is evident in Glenn's letter and the indomitable optimism of the early pioneer pervades the entire pamphlet.

As a representative of the mood, feeling and challenge of the early settlement era, this pamphlet is quite significant.

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<sup>44</sup> Ibid., p. 123.      <sup>45</sup> Hedges, op. cit., p. 98.





## DOCUMENT C-6

## Early Advertisements of Calgary Businesses 1890

Identification

The page of advertisements comprising document C-6 is taken from the Dominion Illustrated magazine of June 28, 1890. This issue contained a special supplement on Calgary, and in consequence the publisher obtained much advertising that had a direct bearing on the district. Some local businessmen advertised in the magazine and other advertisements were obtained from national firms, offering products or services useful to Calgary residents.

A copy of this issue of the magazine is in the Glenbow Foundation Library and Archives in Calgary and this extract is taken from that copy. Figure 15 on page 191 illustrates document C-6.

Relevance to the Scope of the Curriculum

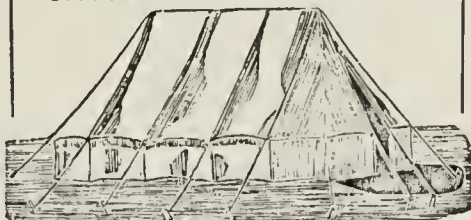
The Dominion Illustrated advertisement offers a basis for studying problems related to seven aspects of the scope of the curriculum. Means of "providing food (Scope No. 1), shelter (Scope No. 2) and clothing" (Scope No. 3) are suggested by the groceries advertisement, the tent and real estate advertisements, and the military outfitter's advertisement respectively. The advertisements placed by the Calgary Carriage Works and the dealers in Saddlery hardware indicate the probable means of local transportation (Scope No. 4) while the soap company advertisement shows that one means of "guarding health. . ." (Scope No. 5) was available. The photographer's offering of "Souvenir Albums of





**THE AK**  
**\* No. 2.**  
 Picture 3 1/4 inch. in diameter. Any one can use it successfully. Send for catalogue, free.  
 SOLD AT U. S. PRICE.  
**WM. NOTMAN & SON,**  
 17 Bleury Street,  
 \* \* MONTREAL.  
**USE THE ALBERT BABY'S OWN SOAP**

## CALGARY TENT FACTORY.



Tents, Awnings, Mattresses, Pillows, Cushions, Flags,  
 Camp Furniture, etc.  
**SHIRLEY & NEWHAM,**  
 CALGARY, ALBERTA.

## CALGARY ADVERTISEMENTS.

Genuine Stock Saddles a Specialty.

# CARSON & SHORE

Wholesale and Retail Dealers in

Leather, Saddlery Hardware,

ROBES AND WHIPS,

Also, Manufacturers of

Saddles, Harness, Trunks, Valises,  
 Bags, Satchels, Horse Blankets.

A SELECTION OF  
**BOORNE & MAY'S**  
 CELEBRATED  
**Rocky Mountain, Indian**  
 and **North-West Views**

Sent post free to any address for \$3.00, or  
 mounted \$4.00, and exchanged if not ap-  
 proved of. An immense list to select from.

Souvenir Albums of  
 Canadian Scenery.

**BOORNE & MAY,**  
 Landscape Photographers,  
 CALGARY, N.W.T.

# Calgary Carriage Works,

WM. H. LEE, Proprietor.

Buggies, Democrat Wagons,  
 Road Carts, Top Buggies, Etc.

GENERAL BLACKSMITHING  
 AND HORSESHOEING

## MAPS.

Town of Calgary.... 55c. J British Columbia.... 35c.  
 City of Vancouver..... 50c

## BOOKS.

Northern Alberta describing country between  
 Calgary and Edmonton, 176 pages and two  
 large maps..... \$0.50  
 Mineral Wealth of British Columbia, 163 pages. n. 50  
 "Rambles in British Columbia." Cloth, 8vo.  
 387 pages, with maps and illustrations..... 3.50  
 "Trooper and Red Skin," by an ex N.W. M. P.,  
 descriptive of life in the North-West, 1884 to  
 1888. Cloth, 289 pages, maps & illustrations 3.25

Mailed to any address on receipt of price by  
**THOMSON BROS., Booksellers and Stationers,**  
 CALGARY, ALBERTA.

**I. S. FREEZE & Co.**  
 Dealers in Groceries, Provisions, Etc.

ESTABLISHED 1883.

# Pioneer Real Estate Agency

OF CALGARY.

## J. G. FITZGERALD,

Real Estate Dealer, Conveyancer,

Notary and Financial Agent,

STEPHEN AVENUE, CALGARY.

## FOR SALE:

Canadian Pacific Railway Lands in the Fertile Valley of the Calgary District,  
 at prices varying from \$3.00 to \$6.00 per acre. Easy terms of payment.

Wheat Lands, Meadow Lands, Timber Lands and Improved Farms in all parts of  
 Central Alberta.

Calgary Real Estate in all parts of this flourishing town, at prices to tempt  
 investors. Several suburban properties at low prices.

Buy Now and Secure Bargains!

## J. G. FITZGERALD,

Estate and Financial Agent,

CALGARY, ALBERTA.

## THERE'S MONEY IN IT!

Picturesque

Canadian \*

\* Scenery

Artistic and Beautiful.



Eminent

Canadian Men

Newsy and Readable

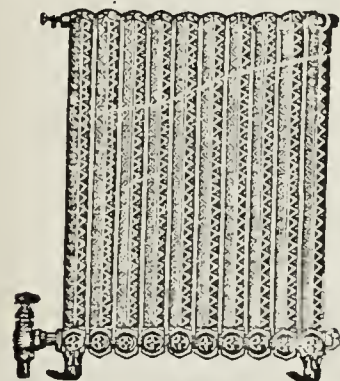
for Young and Old.

**Canvassers Wanted** for subscriptions to THE DOMINION ILLUSTRATED in every town from  
 Port Arthur to the Pacific Coast.  
 People will have it—and for the best of all reasons—it touches the right chord. It is the  
 right thing in the right place.

BRANDON, Man. \* J. H. BROWNLEE, \* VICTORIA, B.C.

# GARTH'S

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 Water Radiator in the market. Quick Circulation; Easily Repaired;  
 its capacity increased at very little Extra Cost; does not need a  
 Fancy Cast Iron Top or Marble Slab; in fact, just the radiator  
 that suits the requirements of the market.

The Radiator now introduced to your notice has been designed  
 to meet a long felt want of something to take the place of box coils  
 as now used in public buildings, halls, corridors, stairways, offices,  
 etc. It has the advantage of being neater in appearance, occupying  
 less room, as well as being more appropriate for such purposes. By  
 the construction of this Radiator each section has (entirely distinct  
 from each other) a separate and positive circulation within itself,  
 producing, not one slow, sluggish continuous circulation, but as  
 many sharp and constant circulations as there are sections com-  
 posing the Radiator, thereby maintaining a greater heat from a  
 given surface.

It has another advantage that will be appreciated by the trade:  
 the inlet and outlet are both at the same end, and has been arranged  
 that it may be used for Hot Water or Steam without making any  
 changes to the connections or any alterations whatever.

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 Hull Post Office, Three Rivers Custom House, Pictou, N.S.  
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 House, Point St. Charles Post Office, Winnipeg Custom House,  
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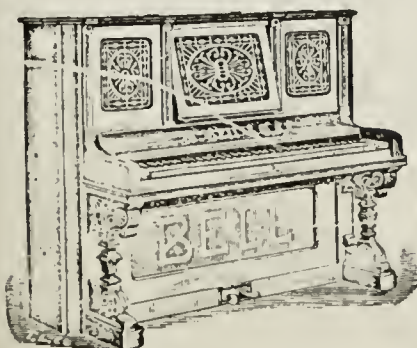
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 have testified  
 as to their sterling  
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Canadian Scenery" might be regarded as one method of "observing nature" (Scope No. 7) and the advertisements for magazines and books as means by which people enjoyed their leisure (Scope No. 9).

The breadth of content covered by this page of advertisements makes this document a useful vehicle of instruction for the study of living conditions in 1890 around Calgary.

### Historical Significance

Consideration of document C-6, the page of advertisements taken from the national magazine Dominion Illustrated, permits historical conjecture in two directions. First, the variety of proffered products indicates, to a large degree, the tastes and basic demands of the residents of Calgary in 1890. The advertisements for tents, saddlery, buggies, and real estate have a particular relevance for Calgary as these products were necessary items for most settlers. Reference to the Canadian Pacific Railway lands in the real estate advertisement is supporting evidence for the statement on the company's control of land, previously mentioned in document C-4.

Of the other products, the piano is an interesting item. Before the advent of radio, the piano was probably the most important source of musical entertainment, and the Herald first mentions a piano recital in Calgary as early as March, 1884.<sup>46</sup>

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<sup>46</sup>N.J. Kennedy, "The Growth and Development of Music in Calgary 1875-1920" (unpublished Master's thesis, Edmonton, University of Alberta, 1952), p. 4, citing the Calgary Herald, March 19, 1884.





Second, the location of some of the advertisers in different parts of the country may be construed as evidence for the improvement of communications and for the development of a national economy as a result of the railway's construction. No statistics could be located on the volume of trade handled by the Calgary C.P.R. depot, but it seems quite reasonable to assume that the increases in C.P.R. freight tonnage cited by Innis for the whole country would apply in at least the same proportions to the Calgary area for the period 1885 to 1890. Innis reports that grain tonnage increased 84%; flour, in barrels, increased 121%; manufactured articles showed a rise of 95% in tonnage; lumber freight went up 45% and haulage of livestock rose 20%.<sup>47</sup> As both a Board of Trade and a Retail Merchants' Association were formed in Calgary in 1890,<sup>48</sup> it seems quite clear that Calgary had become a commercial centre of some consequence at the time that this advertisement appeared. Document C-6 is, therefore, representative of another stage in Calgary's growth.

#### SUMMARY

Examination of the six documents in Set C indicates that they can be employed in the study of at least five topics prescribed or suggested by the Alberta curriculum guides for Social Studies in the

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<sup>47</sup>H.A. Innis, A History of the Canadian Pacific Railway (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1923), pp. 144-147.

<sup>48</sup>Bussard, op. cit., pp. 124-25.



intermediate grades. The six documents about Calgary that were retained in the set were found by the panel of experienced teachers to be not unsuitable for use as resource materials in social studies classes that the panel members might be conducting in the intermediate grades. These documents, therefore, satisfied the criteria established for selection.

Analysis of the documents in terms of their relevance to the scope of the curriculum reveals that, taken as a whole, the documents in this set provide content information on all ten areas of basic human needs outlined in the scope of the curriculum. Three documents in particular, the first issue of the Calgary Herald (C-2), the government promotional publication for farmers (C-5) and the magazine advertisements (C-6) provide much basic data for a study of social conditions in Calgary in the 1880's.

Historically the documents selected are quite significant for a study of the local area. However, some difficulty was encountered in assessing the significance of these documents in terms of the conclusions of historians who have studied the same area and period. Although many historians have studied facets of development--education,<sup>49</sup> music,<sup>50</sup> economic conditions,<sup>51</sup> ranching,<sup>52</sup> land policies,<sup>53</sup> and immigration,<sup>54</sup>

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<sup>49</sup>P.E. Weston, "History of Education in Calgary" (unpublished Master's thesis, University of Alberta, Edmonton, 1951).

<sup>50</sup>N. Kennedy, "Growth and Deveopment of Music in Calgary" (unpublished Master's thesis, University of Alberta, Edmonton, 1952).

<sup>51</sup>D. Diller, "The Early Economic Development of Alberta" (unpublished Master's thesis, University of Alberta, Edmonton, 1923).

<sup>52</sup>L.G. Thomas, "The Ranching Period in Alberta" (unpublished Master's thesis, University of Alberta, Edmonton, 1935).

<sup>53</sup>Chester Martin, "Dominion Lands" Policy.

<sup>54</sup>J.B. Hedges, Building the Canadian West.





in the North West that affect the Calgary area, only two accounts of the early history of Calgary<sup>55</sup> could be located. Moreover both authors have been more concerned with narrative versions of Calgary's development than with analytic or interpretative assessments of Calgary's history. The authors, both prominent Calgarians, have assumed that Calgary is important in view of the city's present important role as a commercial, distribution and industrial center in Alberta. The investigator accepts this assumption for the same reasons. In this set, therefore, most of the documents are considered significant, partly because they describe social conditions in the community after the arrival of the railway, and partly because they refer to the origins of significant institutions and services present in the modern city of Calgary.

The rapidity of Calgary's growth after the arrival of the railway is implicit rather than explicit in the documents selected.

Of the historical conclusions, listed in the concluding statement of Chapter III, supporting evidence is provided by the documents in Set C for the seven conclusions given below.

Conclusion 2. The construction of the C.P.R. represented a vital step in the development of a national economy, based on Canadian industries, products and markets.

The availability of goods and services from Eastern Canada and

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<sup>55</sup>Grant MacEwen, Calgary Cavalcade (Edmonton: Institute of Applied Art, 1958) and L.H. Bussard, "Early History of Calgary" (unpublished Master's thesis, University of Alberta, Edmonton, 1935).



and the West Coast to the residents of Calgary is evident from the pages of advertisements from the Dominion Illustrated, June 30, 1890, from which it can be imputed that the development of the railway's freight service, noted by Innis,<sup>56</sup> led to a wider diffusion of Canadian manufactured products throughout the country.

Conclusion 4. The construction of the C.P.R. was a necessary preliminary to the settlement by the white man of the prairie lands formerly dominated by the Indians.

Evidence for this conclusion is implicit in a comparison of the documents in Set A, pre-railway conditions, with those in Set C, describing conditions after the arrival of the railway at Calgary.

Conclusion 9. Throughout the construction phase, the C.P.R. was troubled by human, engineering, financial and political problems.

The references in the Calgary Herald August 31, 1883, document C-2, to "The Navvies" (item 24) and "Railway Smash Up" (item 38) provide supporting evidence for this conclusion.

Conclusion 13. Following the arrival of the railway at Calgary, that place became the commercial and distribution centre for Alberta.

The description of Calgary in document C-5, the government promotional publication, provides partial evidence for this conclusion, as does the page of advertisements from the Dominion Illustrated, June 30, 1890, also.

Conclusion 14. Just prior to, and for a number of years after the

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<sup>56</sup>Innis, loc. cit.



arrival of the railway at Calgary, that place was the destination of many settlers interested in farming or business.

Murdoch's diary, document C-1, describes the arrival of its author at Calgary just prior to the coming of the railway, while the first issue of the Calgary Herald, document C-2, mentions a number of visitors, some of whom were interested in prospective businesses, to the town. The government promotional publication, document C-5, provides evidence of the growth of Calgary between 1883 and 1884, and was intended to stimulate further growth.

Conclusion 15. In the years immediately following the arrival of the railway, the fairly rapid increases in the population of Calgary necessitated the institution and provision of many commercial, governmental, and educational services in the area.

Document C-2, the first issue of the Calgary Herald, represents one institution, created as a result of the growing population of Calgary, while the six short items on the first school in Calgary, document C-3, illustrate the effects a growing school population had on the provision of educational services. Document C-5, the government promotional publication, also has an estimate of the growth in the population following the arrival of the railway. Each of these documents contributes partial evidence for this conclusion.

Conclusion 17. Following the completion of the C.P.R., both the Government and the company earnestly and energetically assumed their responsibilities for settling newcomers on the land as farmers.

Document C-4, the C.P.R. publication on experimental farms, and





document C-5, the Government publication on "The District of Alberta, N.W.T." both provide evidence that the task of promoting land settlement was tackled earnestly soon after the line reached Calgary.

The documents in Set C about Calgary are representative of similar evidence of the 1880's for other areas and this makes them a reasonable historical sample of that era. The stages of growth and development in Calgary are not unlike similar stages in other places and each document represents one important aspect of community growth. Not all aspects, however, have been represented in these few documents. Little evidence satisfying the initial selection criteria could be readily located for this study to portray the development of either local or territorial political institutions. Similarly lack of suitable source material made it difficult for the investigator to depict adequately the role of missionaries in the development of the Calgary community, especially with regard to their work with the native population in such places as Morleyville and the Blackfoot Crossing. Another notable omission from this selection of documents about the Calgary area affects ranching. Although much has been written about ranching in southern Alberta, the reminiscent type of description of the industry is difficult to substantiate and often deals mainly with unknown personalities, while the actual records of the early ranches in the Calgary area could not be located by the investigator. Furthermore, as ranching was a well established industry in the area before the arrival of the railway, the immediate effects of the railway on the industry were not as dramatic as the effects on the village, and after November 1884,



the town of Calgary.

In conclusion it may be said that the documents in this set are representative of or provide supporting evidence for the conclusions that some historians have reached about the development of this, and similar, pioneer communities in the West. The collection does not include materials on all phases of early community development in Calgary but does provide sufficient information for the formulation of hypotheses about the social history of the West, and of Calgary in particular, at this time.





## CHAPTER VIII

### CONCLUSIONS, IMPLICATIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This final chapter reviews the findings of the investigation, draws some conclusions based on these findings, recommends some areas for possible research and suggests some practical implementations.

The purpose of the study was to select and analyse certain authentic historical documents, which would be suitable resource materials for a study of local Alberta history by students in the intermediate grades, and which would provide information on universal human needs and evidence for the significant conclusions of historians of the same period and area.

The topic selected for study was the building of the Canadian Pacific Railway across Alberta and its consequences on the growth of Calgary up to 1890. Three distinct phases, the pre-construction era, the construction era, and the post-construction era, were identified within the topic and historical documents were collected for each phase. In assessing the documentary material available, four criteria were applied. Two criteria, developed to validate the initial selection of documents, were:

1. Relevance to the sequence of the Alberta social studies curriculum.
2. Suitability for students in the intermediate grades.

Documents, which satisfied both of these criteria, were subsequently analysed in terms of two evaluative criteria, which were

3. Relevance to the scope of the Alberta social studies curriculum.
4. Historical significance.



The conclusions reached as a result of the application of these criteria are reported after the review of the findings relating to each criteria.

## FINDINGS AND CONCLUSIONS

Initially many historical documents were collected from libraries and archives on the basis of their relevance to the historical topic, and a preliminary assessment by the investigator, based on his own experience as a social studies teacher, of their pedagogic utility. A basic assumption of the initial selection process was that documents in the custody of archivists and librarians were authentic.

Following the initial selection of documents, the two selection validation criteria were applied.

### Relevance to the Sequence of the Curriculum

In the selection of historical documents, their relevance to the topics within the sequence of the Alberta social studies curriculum for the intermediate grades was considered essential. The question to be examined was:

Question 1. Can authentic historical documents be provided which relate to the topics within the sequence of the Alberta social studies curriculum for Grades IV to VIII?

To be acceptable to this study, documents had to be relevant to at least one topic within the curriculum sequence. This information was obtained by the investigator through reference to appropriate Alberta



social studies curriculum guides.<sup>1</sup>

Findings. All the documents, having been collected on the basis of their relevance to the historical topic selected, were found to be relevant to at least three topics, suggested or prescribed in the Alberta social studies curriculum guides for the intermediate grades. For two other topics of purely local interest to Calgary students, some of the documents could be employed. The five topics, identified by the investigator, were:

1. Grade IV - Pioneer Life in the West.
2. Grade IV - The Child's Own Community.
3. Grade V - Alberta at Work.
4. Grade VII - The Opening of the West - Unit III, Section IV.
5. Grade VII - The History of Our Community - Unit IV, Section II.

The documents were found to be not relevant to the topics of the Grade VIII curriculum.

Conclusion. Question 1 can, therefore, be answered in the affirmative, when the sequence of the curriculum is considered in terms of content.

#### Suitability for Students in the Intermediate Grades.

One concern of this study was to select historical documents which were suitable for use in the classroom. The question asked was: Question 2. Can authentic historical documents be provided which are

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<sup>1</sup>Province of Alberta, Elementary Curriculum Guide for Social Studies-Enterprise (Interim) (Edmonton: Department of Education, 1964), and \_\_\_\_\_, Junior High School Curriculum Guide for Social Studies-Language (1963 edition) (Edmonton: Department of Education, 1963).





considered suitable social studies resource materials for students in Grades IV to VIII?

Findings. Twenty-four documents were submitted to a panel of five teachers. Nine documents were accepted unanimously. Eight documents were accepted by four of the five panel members. Seven documents were rejected because they were only considered acceptable by fewer than four of the panel members. Of the seventeen documents selected on the basis of the suitability criterion, one was later rejected when it was found by the investigator that its original source could not be substantiated. The sixteen documents used in this study were, in the opinion of the five panel members, suitable social studies resource materials for intermediate grades' students.

Conclusions. Application of the suitability criterion revealed that a consensus of teacher opinion on what constitutes suitable social studies resource materials is not easily achieved. Much of the diversity of opinion about the suitability of the documents among the five panel members could be a reflection of the diversity of the functions of documents, noted in Chapter II. Implicit in that part of the question which asked the teachers to assess a document in terms of its use in a class that they might be conducting was an inquiry into the function that the teacher might intend for the document. However, the variety of functions of a document, and the probable variation in the functions of particular documents at different age, grade or ability levels could have made the assessment of the documents by the panel members difficult.

An additional drawback to the assessment of the suitability of



particular documents is the lack of specificity with respect to what Goodlad calls the "organizing elements"<sup>2</sup> in the sequence of the Alberta elementary school curriculum. The uncertainty of teachers in assessing the suitability of the documents may also be attributable to the paucity of information in the Alberta social studies curriculum guides on how different types of materials may be adapted to what is to be taught, and on what is teachable at the different grade levels in social studies.

Question 2 can also be answered in the affirmative, but it should be noted that not all historical documents are suitable social studies resource materials, that the intended function of a document seems to be a crucial, though unquantified, variable in a teacher's assessment of suitability, that teachers appear to be uncertain about how materials can be adapted to, and what "organizing elements" are teachable within, the sequence of the curriculum, and that these conclusions were reached on the basis of a small sample.

#### Relevance to the Scope of the Curriculum

Each document which satisfied the two selection validation criteria was analysed by the investigator in terms of its relevance to the scope of the social studies curriculum for the province of Alberta. The question to be examined was:

Question 3: Do historical documents, selected in accordance with the

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<sup>2</sup>NEA Project on Instruction, Planning and Organizing for Teaching (Washington: National Education Association, 1963), p. 29.





criteria of questions 1 and 2, provide content in the areas of universal human needs, itemized in the statement of scope in the Alberta social studies curriculum guides for Grades IV to VIII?

To obtain information on this question, each document was examined to ascertain the extent to which content was provided in the areas of universal human needs, usually associated with such social sciences as economics, sociology, anthropology and political science. The areas of interest covered in part by the social sciences were identified, for the purpose of this study, as the ten aspects of scope itemized in the Elementary Curriculum Guide for Social Studies-Enterprise,<sup>3</sup> and acknowledged in the Junior High School Curriculum Guide for Social Studies-Language.<sup>4</sup> The ten aspects are:

1. Getting and preparing food.
2. Providing shelter.
3. Providing clothing.
4. Transportation and communication.
5. Guarding health, welfare and safety.
6. Governing and protecting.
7. Observing and conserving nature.
8. Educating for adult duties and jobs.
9. Enjoying recreation, play and leisure.
10. Expressing ideals through religion and art.<sup>5</sup>

Findings. The tabulation of the references in each document to each of the ten aspects of the scope of the curriculum reveals the variety of content in the documents. (See Table IV.)

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<sup>3</sup>Province of Alberta (1964), op. cit., p. 8.

<sup>4</sup>Province of Alberta (1963), op. cit., p. 11.

<sup>5</sup>Province of Alberta (1964), loc. cit.



TABLE IV

THE NUMBER OF REFERENCES IN EACH DOCUMENT  
TO ASPECTS OF THE SCOPE OF THE CURRICULUM

Document Number	Aspects of the Scope of the Curriculum*										Total
	#1	#2	#3	#4	#5	#6	#7	#8	#9	#10	
A-1	x	x		x		x			x	x	6
A-2	x					x	x	x			4
A-3	x	x	x	x							4
A-4	x	x		x	x	x				x	6
B-1				x	x					x	3
B-2				x	x	x					3
B-3				x		x					2
B-4				x							1
B-5	x	x		x	x						4
B-6					x	x	x				3
C-1	x	x		x		x	x	x	x	x	8
C-2	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	10
C-3		x				x		x			3
C-4	x			x							2
C-5	x	x	x	x		x	x	x		x	8
C-6	x	x	x	x	x		x		x		7
Total	10	9	4	13	7	10	6	5	4	6	74

\* The aspects of the scope of the curriculum are numbered in accordance with the statement on the previous page.

Table IV indicates that in the sixteen documents analysed by the investigator, seventy-four references to the scope of the curriculum were found. Each document mentioned at least one aspect of the scope, and document C-2, the front page of the first issue of the Calgary



Herald, provided information on all ten aspects. Most documents were relevant to several aspects of the scope. On the other hand, one document B-4, Fleming's telegraph message to Macdonald, provided information on only one aspect.

Conclusions. Collectively the selected documents provide considerable information on the ten problem areas associated with universal human needs itemized in the statement of scope in the Alberta social studies curriculum guides. Documents can be provided to focus on particular aspects of the scope, in the same manner as the documents in Set B focus on "transporting and communicating," or they can be provided to cover the social conditions of a pioneer community broadly, as the documents in Set C do. The variations in the number of references to different aspects of the scope may be accounted for by Herskovits' theory of cultural focus, in which he claims that those aspects of a culture which give most concern and are discussed most frequently manifest the greatest degree of variation in a culture, while the least discussed aspects are those which are taken for granted.<sup>6</sup>

As a basis for contrasting social problems and conditions of the 1880's with those of modern times, the sixteen selected documents are eminently suitable. Question 3 can, therefore, be answered in the affirmative, though it is recognized that only the frequency of references to, and not the extensiveness of the discussion of, the problems of the scope of the curriculum within the documents is reported.

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<sup>6</sup>Melville J. Herskovits, Man and His Works (New York: Alfred Knopf, 1948), p. 544.





### Historical Significance

The most important concern of this study was that documents, selected on a pedagogic basis, should be historically significant. The criterion of historical significance was developed to provide information on Question 4 of the problem.

Question 4: Do historical documents, selected in accordance with the criteria of questions 1 and 2, provide evidence for the conclusions that historians have reached about the building of the Canadian Pacific Railway acrosss Alberta, and its consequences on the growth of Calgary up to 1890?

To apply this criterion a statement of the historical conclusions to be evolved from each document was prepared by the investigator and submitted, together with the documents, to two qualified judges. Any modifications and changes suggested by the two qualified judges were incorporated in the assessment of each document.

Findings. Each document employed in this study provided some historical evidence that contributes to an understanding of the significant conclusions of historians. Furthermore partial evidence was found for sixteen conclusions of historians, summarized in the concluding statement of Chapter III. The extent of the evidence found in the different documents of the significant conclusions of historians varied, as the summary below indicates.

In this summary each significant historical conclusion listed in Chapter III is restated, and the documents which provide some degree of evidence for each conclusion are listed. A differentiation has been



made between those documents which provide partial evidence, those which provide considerable evidence and those which are considered representative because they provide implicit evidence, of the significant conclusions of historians.

1. The building of the C.P.R. from the Atlantic to the Pacific symbolized the national unity of the provinces and territories in the Dominion of Canada.

Document B-4, Fleming's telegram to Macdonald--partial evidence.

Document B-6, A Unique Mountain Journey--representative.

2. The construction of the C.P.R. represented a vital step in the development of a national economy based on Canadian industries, products and markets.

Document C-6, Dominion Illustrated advertisements--partial evidence.

3. The C.P.R. was an important link in the network of imperial connections stretching from England across Canada to the Orient and Australasia.

Document B-4, Fleming's telegram--partial evidence.

Document B-5, C.P.R. sleeping car advertisement--partial evidence.

4. The construction of the C.P.R. was a necessary preliminary to the settlement by white men of the prairie lands formerly dominated by the Indians.

Document B-1, The Train That Never Went Back--partial evidence. A comparison between the documents in Set A, and those in Set C, considered collectively, provides considerable evidence for this conclusion.

5. Improved transportation facilities provided by the C.P.R. enabled





the government to protect the country from attack or rebellion more efficiently than hitherto.

No direct evidence.

6. The line from Callander, Ontario, to Port Moody, B.C. was built at a rate that surpassed the expectations of the early planners.

Document B-1, The Train That Never Went Back--partial evidence.

Document B-4, Fleming's Telegram--partial evidence.

7. The rapidity of the construction phase was chiefly due to the efforts and administration of William Van Horne.

Document B-3, The Problem of Tunnel Mountain--considerable evidence.

8. The urgency of the construction and the decision to re-route the line across the southern prairie and through the Kicking Horse Pass induced hasty and incomplete planning of the whole line, and in consequence a number of unforeseen engineering difficulties arose.

Document B-3, The Problem of Tunnel Mountain--partial evidence.

Document B-1, The Train That Never Went Back--partial evidence.

9. Throughout the construction phase, the C.P.R. was troubled by human, engineering, financial and political problems.

Document B-1, The Train That Never Went Back--partial evidence.

Document B-2, "Don't Invest in the C.P.R."--partial evidence.

Document B-3, The Problem of Tunnel Mountain--partial evidence.

Document C-2, First Issue of the Calgary Herald--partial evidence.

10. Prior to the construction of the C.P.R., the area around Calgary was almost void of permanent white settlement.

Collectively the documents in Set A provide considerable evidence for



this conclusion.

11. The presence of the North West Mounted Police in the Territories prior to the construction of the railway and the incoming of settlers, greatly facilitated the peaceful interaction of the white man with the indigenous population.

Document A-1, The Founding of Fort Calgary--representative.

Document A-2, Negotiations of The Blackfeet Treaty--partial evidence.

Document A-4, Survey Map of Calgary, 1883--partial evidence.

12. Prior to the arrival of the C.P.R. at Calgary, that community depended for its supplies on the American trading centre, Fort Benton on the Missouri River, and on bull-, mule- or horse-drawn transportation.

Document A-3, Pre-Railway Transportation--considerable evidence.

13. Following the arrival of the railway at Calgary, that place became the commercial and distribution centre for Alberta.

Document C-5, Government promotional publication--partial evidence.

Document C-6, Dominion Illustrated advertisements--partial evidence.

14. Just prior to, and for a number of years after the arrival of the railway at Calgary, that place was the destination of many settlers interested in farming or business.

Document C-1, Murdoch's diary--partial evidence.

Document C-5, Government promotional publication--partial evidence.

15. In the years immediately following the arrival of the railway, the fairly rapid increases in the population of Calgary necessitated the institution and provision of many commercial, governmental and educational services in the area.



Document C-2, The First Issue of the Calgary Herald--partial evidence.

Document C-3, The Beginnings of Education in Calgary--partial evidence.

Document C-5, Government promotional publication--partial evidence.

16. A necessary preliminary to the settlement of the Canadian West was

a comprehensive and accurate survey of the region. The rapid

construction of the railway hastened the conducting of the survey.

Document A-4, The Township Survey--considerable evidence.

17. Following the completion of the C.P.R., both the Government and the

company earnestly and energetically assumed their responsibilities

for settling newcomers on the land as farmers.

Document C-4, C.P.R. promotional publication on experimental farms--  
considerable evidence.

Document C-5, Government promotional publication--considerable evidence.

Conclusions. Few documents, considered individually, provide sufficient evidence for the significant conclusions' of historians of the same area and period. In the five documents listed as providing considerable evidence in the preceding summary, sufficient information was available to formulate approximately the same conclusion as that of the historian, although the advisability of doing so on the basis of one instance may be questioned.

Most documents provide partial evidence only. Two or three documents, however, refer to varying aspects of the same historical conclusion. Collectively, therefore, groups of documents may be considered to contribute sufficient information for the formulation of tentative conclusions similar to those of the academic historian.





Two documents--A-1, The Founding of Fort Calgary, and B-6, Lady Macdonald's Unique Mountain Journey--were found to be representative of the significant conclusions of historians by providing implicit evidence. The evidence in these documents would be more meaningful if used with others related to the same areas of interest.

Many of the selected documents provided evidence for conclusions that historians in general have not considered to be significant, but which have a particular importance in specialized areas of study. The regionalism of the Calgary Herald, document C-2, may be cited as an example of this kind of less widely acknowledged historical conclusion.

Question 4, therefore, can only be answered in the affirmative for a few single documents. In most instances a single document provides partial evidence or is representative of the significant conclusions that historians have reached about the building of the Canadian Pacific Railway across Alberta and its consequences on the growth of Calgary up to 1890. A number of documents considered collectively produce more evidence for the formulation of tentative conclusions similar to those of the academic historian than single documents.

#### EDUCATIONAL IMPLICATIONS

The findings of this study suggest several educational implications in the areas of curriculum development, methodology and teacher preparation. Educators responsible for the development of the social studies curriculum should be aware that through the recent growth of archival services in certain areas a considerable number of historical



documents, which can readily be reproduced by photostatic processes, are available for the development of depth studies in local Alberta history. This study has shown that concentration of the historical focus on one area and period with documents need not incur any loss of information in the areas of universal human needs itemized in the statement of the scope of the Alberta social studies curriculum. Neither does such concentration, despite its historical emphasis, restrict the range of social sciences that may be covered; nor does it involve deviation from the conclusions that historians have reached previously. This would suggest that provision within the sequence of the curriculum for topics to be handled through the use of sources need not violate the nature of the social studies.

The fact that single documents seldom supply sufficient historical evidence to formulate conclusions similar to those of the academic historian suggests that in the classroom related documents be presented in sets in order to provide sufficient information. The number of documents used in this study implies that to obtain adequate historical coverage of a topic a considerable number of documents should be available. The increased quantity of materials needed for the adoption of the source method would involve increasing the time to be spent on one topic, presumably at the expense of another. If more time were available for the implementation of the source method, teachers could place less stress on coverage of the subject matter and on expository techniques, and more stress on the depth of study and on inductive techniques. The partial evidence for significant historical conclusions





provided by many documents could serve as a springboard for further study by students, and for the discovery from supplementary sources of the more significant historical conclusions. Documents, it is implied, serve as useful instructional resources for the development of the skills of critical thinking and for the stimulation of curiosity.

Adoption of the source method also has implications for teacher preparation. To cope with the depth of knowledge that students may be expected to acquire in a study involving sets of historical documents, teachers would require a thorough understanding of the historical context into which the documents fitted. The scholarship of social studies teachers would, in many instances, need to be intensified. Also the apparent lack of experience of many social studies teachers with historical documents in the classroom implies that those responsible for both pre-service and in-service teacher preparation should develop training programs which expose teachers to the source method.

If the use of sources became more widespread, consideration would have to be given by school administrators at either the school or school system level to the provision of instructional resource sections in libraries so that the quantity and variety of documents needed could be adequately stored and catalogued. The provision and selection of suitable materials with a high social studies and historical potential should be the joint responsibility of both historians and educators in an effort to reduce redundancies in learning.



## RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FURTHER STUDY

In the course of this investigation, several areas of possible future study presented themselves.

1. As it appears that the source method does not enjoy general acceptance among social studies teachers, an investigation into the factors which inhibit the use of historical documents in the modern classroom could be conducted.
2. A survey could be conducted into the extent that the source method is employed in the modern classroom to ascertain what functions historical documents serve in schools, what expectations teachers have of documents, and what reaction to the use of documents teachers observe in students.
3. An analysis might be conducted into the quantity and variety of source materials provided by commercial publishers. The rationale for such publications, and the age, grade and ability levels of the students for whom the publications were intended could be examined in terms of the curriculum requirements of specific areas.
4. Comparative data on student achievement and ongoing motivation in projects involving the use of historical documents over varying lengths of time may provide pedagogic guidelines for the most efficient use of documents.
5. A study into the varying levels of concept formation that can be developed through the use of historical sources at different grade and ability levels could also be undertaken to assist in curriculum development.



6. Tests or other evaluative instruments might be developed to provide empirical evidence of the effectiveness of documents as pedagogic materials.
7. Student proficiency in selecting, analysing and synthesising the evidence provided by historical documents might be examined in terms of the various reading skills.
8. Consideration should be given to the question of the effectiveness of the source method with students of particular socio-economic backgrounds, varying levels of ability and different chronological and mental ages.

#### SUGGESTED IMPLEMENTATIONS

If the source method is deemed worthy of adoption following further study as outlined in the preceding section, the investigator suggests that action by interested groups be directed to assist, encourage and instruct teachers in the use of historical documents. Possible practical endeavours include:

1. Joint cooperation between university history departments and education faculties in providing specially prepared kits of historical documents for schools.
2. Provision by the publishers of local historical magazines of a school's section in the magazine.
3. In-service instruction, under the auspices of a professional institution, in archival work to assist teachers in locating, registering and storing archival materials for local instructional





materials centres.

4. Institutions with established archives should be urged to employ a qualified social studies teacher to prepare collections of historical documents for classroom use, to lecture with the collected materials and to act as a historical resource materials' consultant to teachers and school boards.
5. Social studies teachers should be encouraged to maintain close liaison with local historical groups and museums.

The implementation of these recommendations may reduce the difficulty, frequently encountered by teachers, of finding suitable documents, and may contribute to the more effective use of existing historical documents.



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## APPENDIX A





# ANNOTATIONS OF SOME OTHER SOURCES RELATED TO SET A

1. A letter describing the landscape and soil conditions around Calgary, written by Captain Crozier, N.W.M.P. on November 8, 1876 from Fort Calgary to a friend.  
Source--Sandford Fleming, Report on the Canadian Pacific Railway 1877 (Ottawa: 1877), p. 324.
2. A traveller's description of a stage coach journey along the Calgary-Edmonton trail in winter 1883 with some comments on his fellow passengers.  
Source--"Calgary to Edmonton," Alberta Historical Review, Vol. 8, No. 1, Winter 1960, p. 16.
3. The personal reminiscences of an ex-bullwhacker.  
Source--"Life with the Bull Trains," Alberta Historical Review, Vol. 7, No. 3, Summer 1959, pp. 21-23.
4. A picture of Fort Calgary in 1875(?) with Captain Denny and a police sergeant meeting some Indians.  
Source--J.P. Turner. The North West Mounted Police, Vol. 1 (Ottawa: King's Printer, 1953), p. 242.
5. An advertisement for the Qu'Appelle-Calgary stage coach.  
Source--Burns and Elliott, Calgary: Her Industries and Resources 1885 (located in the Glenbow Foundation Library and Archives, Calgary).
6. A description of the mechanics and conducting of the Dominion land surveys.  
Source--James Macgregor, "Lord Lorne in Alberta," Alberta Historical Review, Vol. 12, No. 2. Spring 1964, pp. 10-11.



## APPENDIX B



# ANNOTATIONS OF SOME OTHER SOURCES RELATED TO SET B

1. The daily routine of building the railway, described by a former "navvie," Stephen Pardoe.  
Source--J.M. Gibbon, Steel of Empire (Indianapolis: Bobbs Merrill Co., 1935), pp. 238-240.
2. One of a series of railway accidents during the construction phase, described in a newspaper article entitled "Another Railway Disaster."  
Source--Calgary Herald, October 26, 1883.
3. A number of photographs depicting various aspects of the construction phases.  
Sources--J.M. Gibbon, op. cit., p. 239--"C.P.R. Construction on the Prairies"; p. 240--"The First Train into Calgary"; p. 240--"The Bridge at Medicine Hat."  
Source--T.M. Longstreth, The Silent Force (London: The Century Company, 1927), p. 134--"The End of Steel".
4. Van Horne's letter of thanks, dated January 1, 1883, to Colonel Irvine, N.W.M.P., Regina, for police assistance and protection during the construction era.  
Source--R.G. Macbeth, The Romance of the C.P.R. (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1924), p. 158.
5. An account by Inspector Steele of his actions during the strike by railway workers at Beavermouth, 1885.  
Source--S.B. Steele, Forty Years in Canada (Toronto: McClelland, Goodenough and Stewart, 1915), pp. 196-201.
6. A telegram of congratulations from Van Horne to Sir John A. Macdonald on the completion of the C.P.R.  
Source--Macdonald Papers, Vol. 129 (Ottawa: Public Archives of Canada), p. 53567.
7. Sir John A. Macdonald's C.P.R. pass.  
Source--Macdonald Papers, Vol. 144, (Ottawa: Public Archives of Canada), pp. 58890-58891.
8. An illustrated description of a journey from Montreal to Vancouver on the C.P.R. 1890.  
Source--The Canadian Pacific Railway The New Highway to the Orient, 1890 (Glenbow Foundation Library and Archives, Calgary.)
9. An account of a 'political' journey across Canada, undertaken by Sir John A. Macdonald, and described by his wife.  
Source--Lady Agnes Macdonald, "By Car and Cowcatcher," Murray's Magazine, February and March 1887.





10. An annotated timetable of the C.P.R., 1890, describing the regions through which the track passed.  
Source--C.P.R., Annotated Timetable 1890 (Glenbow Foundation Library and Archives, Calgary).
11. Souvenir timetable of the first through passenger train, June 28, 1886.  
Source--J.M. Gibbon, op. cit., p. 306.
12. An annotated list of C.P.R. resort hotels in the Rockies.  
Source--C.P.R. The New Highway to the Orient 1890, pp. 46-47. (Glenbow Foundation Library and Archives, Calgary).



## APPENDIX C





## ANNOTATIONS OF SOME OTHER SOURCES RELATED TO SET 'C

1. Descriptions of the inauguration and growth of religious institutions in Calgary extracted from the files of the local newspaper.  
Source--Calgary Herald 1883-85 (Glenbow Foundation Library and Archives, Calgary, and microfilm at Provincial Legislature Library, Edmonton).
2. An annotated directory of local businesses, businessmen and other facilities in Calgary 1885.  
Source--Burns and Elliot, Calgary: Her Industries and Resources 1885 (Glenbow Foundation Library and Archives, Calgary).
3. An agriculturalist's description of the Calgary area and his assessment of the ranching industry.  
Source--Professor Sheldon. "Notes on the Canadian North West." Pacific Railway and the North West 1885 (Glenbow Foundation Library and Archives, Calgary).
4. An extract from an immigration promotional publication, advising the newcomers on where to go.  
Source--"How to Reach the West," C.P.R. Farming and Ranching in Western Canada, 1890 (Glenbow Foundation Library and Archives, Calgary).
5. A comprehensive collection of photographs of Calgary between 1880 and 1890 is filed at the Glenbow Foundation Library and Archives, Calgary.





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